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SOVIET INDOLOGY SERIES. No. 3

KUSHAN STUDIES IN U.S.S.R.

Papers Presented by the Soviet Scholars at the UNESCO Conference on History, Archaeology and Culture of Central Asia in the Kushan Period, Dushanbe 1968.
With 18 Plates.

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EDITOR'S NOTE

The importance of developing closer cooperation between the Soviet and Indian scholars in the field of Indian studies—of developing better mutual understanding and direct exchange of ideas between them—is stupendous and its possibilities literally immense. Here in India one can afford to doubt this only by banking on sheer ignorance of the actual academic output of the Soviet Indologists, who are the direct inheritors of the grand tradition of the Indological studies set up in St. Petersburg by veritable giants like Minaev, Ol'denburg, Stcherbatsky and others and, moreover, whose passionate love for the Indian people leads them also to take an intensely human interest in their subject, howevermuch technical it may be. It was perhaps this human interest that moved me most when, in 1968, I had the opportunity of meeting a large number of them. The study of India's past is not prompted in them by an antiquarian interest : to lift the veil on the past, as they understand it, is an aid to understand the present and therefore also to shape the future. And yet, how little I myself knew before this the real magnitude and dimensions of their contributions to Indian studies ! How little, indeed, I myself knew of their deep concern for the varied problems of Indian cultural heritage ! It was imperative, I then felt, that more and more of the works of the Soviet colleagues had to be made available to the Indian readers, in the way in which the Soviet scholars themselves feel about the works of their Indian colleagues.

And it was with this purpose that we, on behalf of the *Indian Studies : Past & Present*, launched the present series, extremely humble though our private resources are for the purpose.

Fortunately, the response of the Soviet scholars has been immediate. We have been receiving books and microfilms of archive materials from them and also of course invaluable suggestions for making this series a success. It was in this way that we received a warm letter from Academician B. Gafurov, offering us the priority of publishing the Kushan papers. Apart from these papers, which we received in English translation, Academician B. Gafurov kindly sent us 18 selected photographs, which we have used in the form of a bunch at the beginning of the present volume. From the Soviet end, Dr. B. M. Bongard-Levin has done everything in the matter of editing and arranging the present papers. He has also kindly acceded to my request for a *Foreword* to the papers, inclusive of biographical data on the major contributors to the volume.

We take this opportunity of expressing our grateful thanks to Sri Harish Chandra Gupta for helping us in all sorts of ways not only for the publication of the present volume but also for doing everything needed for making the *Soviet Indology Series* a success. He has translated from the Russian language two major works for this series. One of these is already published as *Papers of Stcherbatsky*. The other one is the monumental work on *Tibetan Historical Literature* by A. I. Vostrikov, now in press.

Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya
Editor, *Indian Studies : Past & Present*

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FOREWARD

We are very glad that our colleague, the well-known Indian Indological quarterly, *Indian Studies : Past & Present* is publishing as a seperate monograph, some papers and reports prepared by the Soviet scholars for the UNESCO International Conference on archaeology and culture of Central Asia in the Kushan period (Dushanbe, October 1968).

The Conference in Dushanbe, which was attended by scholars from 18 countries, was an important step towards the implemention of the new UNESCO Project on the study of civilisations of Central Asia and an important contribution to the investigation of one of the most interesting and important stages in the history of world civilisation—the Kushan period.

The Kushan kingdom built up by those coming from Central Asia extended from the shores of the Arab Sea to the Indian Ocean and Eastern Turkestan, and ranked with the great powers of that time—Rome, Parthia, and China under the Hans. The unification, in the frame-work of one kingdom, of diverse areas brought various cultures and peoples into close proximity. The Kushan period is an integral part of the history of peoples of India, Central Asia, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran.

Recent archaeological discoveries have shown that many artistic schools, —which combined in them the best achivements of ancient culture with the elements of local artistic traditions,—flourished in Kushan period.

Lately, the Soviet scholars have unearthed remarkable masterpieces of art of the local schools of Central Asia, which came into being or flourished in the Kushan period.

Our notions about Kushan history and culture are, at present, based on the remarkable masterpieces of artistic schools of India as well as those discovered in the Soviet Republics of Central Asia (Airtam, Khalchayan, Dal'verzin-tepe, Kara-tepe, etc.)[1] and Afghanistan.

The traditions of Kushan culture long ontlived the Kushan period and greatly influenced the development of the peoples of India, Central Asia, Afghanistan, Pakistan and of other countries.

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[1] The details of works of Soviet scholars on Kushan Studies can be found in the bibliography published for the UNESCO conference in Dushanbe: "Soviet Asian Archaeology and the Kushan Problem : An Annotated Bibliography," by D Ya. Stavisky, B. I. Vainberg, N. G. Gorbunova, E. A. Novgorodova. vols. i.-ii, Moscow, 1968.

Well aware of the tremendous significance of the Kushan period in the history of the East as a period which brought various peoples together, strengthened the political, economic and cultural ties and contributed greatly to the development of culture, the Soviet scholars are paying great attention to the Kushan Studies.

Kushan problem is one of those important scientific problems which cannot be studied without the coordination of efforts of the scholars of various countries, primarily of those of India, Soviet Union, Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The papers and reports published in the present volume are, of course, only a small part of the considerable work done by Soviet scholars for a study of the history and culture of Kushan period. We do hope that in future we shall be able to acquaint our Indian colleagues with the research work carried out by the Soviet Indologists, archaeologists, historians and philologists.

G. M. BONGARD-LEVIN

CONTENTS

B. GAFUROV
Kushan Civilization and World Culture 1

M. ASIMOV
Science in Central Asia and the Methods of Studying it 15

G. M. BONGARD-LEVIN
B. Ya. STAVISKY
Central Asia in the Kushan Period : Archaeological Studies by Soviet Scholars 27

B. Aa. LITVINSKY
Outline History of Buddhism in Central Asia 53

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS 133

L. I. Albaum, Statigraphy of Kushan Settlements in the Angor District of the Surkhan-Darya Region 135

A. D. Babaev, Penetration of the Saka Tribes into the Western Pamir 137

A. M. Belenitsky, West Turkistan art of the Pre-Kushan period and its connections with Kushan art 138

B. I. Vainberg, Archaeological material from Khorezm and the problem of Kushan chronology 140

L. S. Vasil'ev, The Kushans and the penetration of Buddhism into China 142

V. V. Ginzburg, Anthropological data on the ethnogenesis of the Central-Asian interfluvial area population in the Kushan epoch 143

N. G. Gorbunova, Ferghana in the time of the Kushan kingdom 144

T. V. Grek & N. V. D'yakonova, The conception of the *dharmakāya* in the fine arts 146

Y. A. Zadneprovsky, History of Central Asian nomads in the Kushan period 148

V. Y. Zenenkova, Some craniological materials of the Kushan times 150

E. V. Zevmal, A.D. 278—the date of Kaniska 152

A. N. Zelinsky, The Kushanas and Mahāyāna 156

S. K. Kabanov, Late Kushan settlements in the lower reaches of the Kashka-Darya river 158

T. P. Kivatkina, Craniological material of the 2nd-1st centuries B. C. from the territory of southern Tajikistan 160

I. Kozhamberdiev, Culture of the Tienshan-Alai nomads in the first half of the first millennium A. D. 162

V. G. Lukonin, Sassanian conquest in the east of Iran and the problem of Kushan chronology 163

A. M. Mandelshtam, Aachaeological data on the origin and early history of the Kushans 165

M. E. Masson, Towards the problem of the northern borders of the state of the "Great Kushans" 167

V. A. Meshkeris, Central Asian coroplastic schools of the Kushan period 169

K. Mukhitdinov, Saksanokhur terracotta 171

I. M. Oransky, On some areal phenomena in the borderland between the Indo-Aryan and the Iranina dialects 172

A. Mukhtarov, New finds of stone capitals of the Kushan times in Shakhrinau (southern Tajikistan) 173

N. N. Negmatov & E. D. Saltovskaya, Material culture of Kushan times in Ustrushana and west Ferghana 174

V. N. Pilipko, Archaeological monuments of Kushan times on the banks of the Amu-Darya's central reaches 176

G. A. Pugachenkova, Kushan art in the light of recent discoveries in northern Bactria 177

A. N. Zelinsky & Y. G. Rychkov, On the question of the ethnic authropology of the Kushans 178

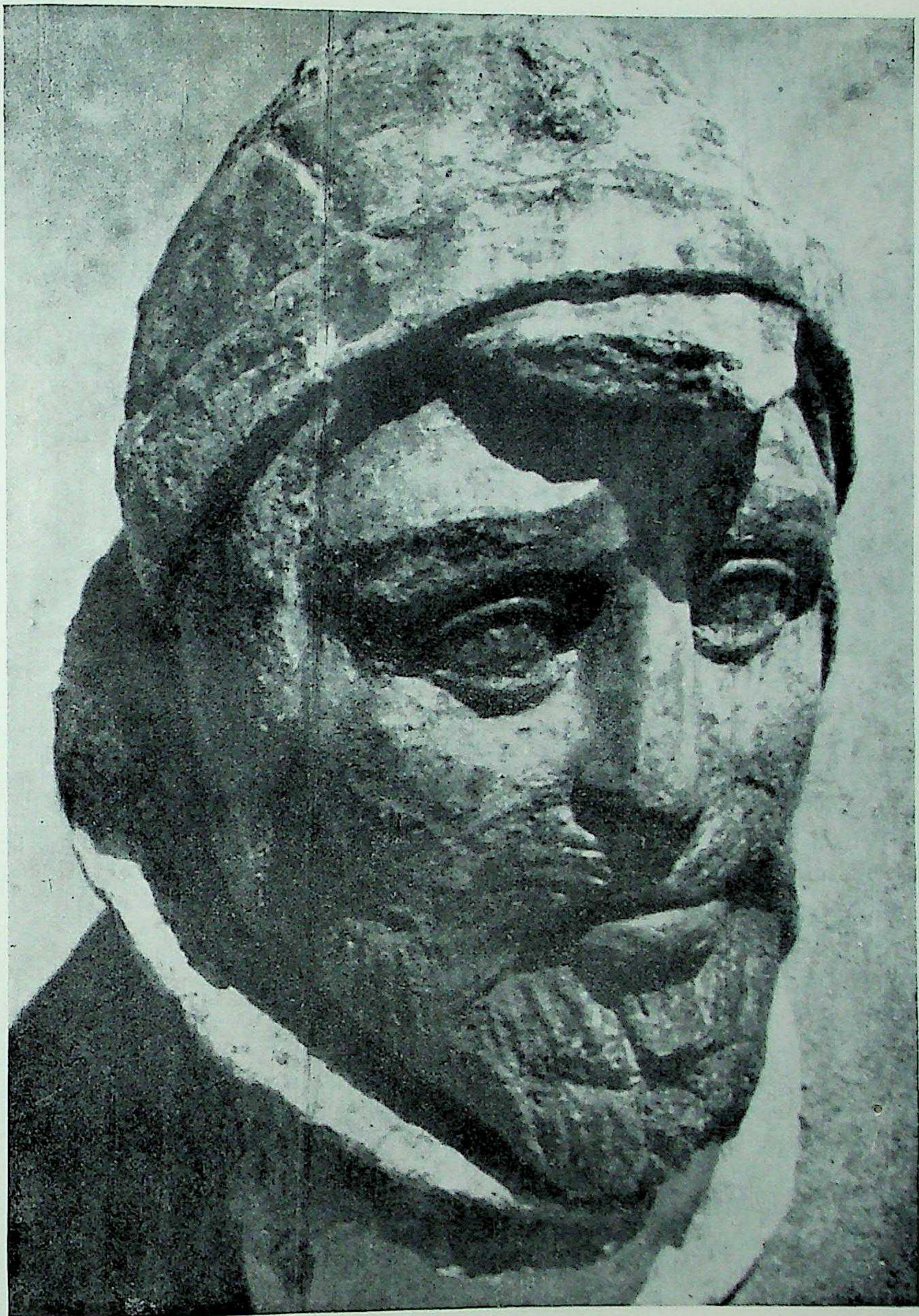
E. V. Saiko, Some problems of ceramics technology of the Kushan period (northern Bactria) 180

B. J. Stavisky, Kara-tepe and questions of the history and culture of Kushan Bactria 181

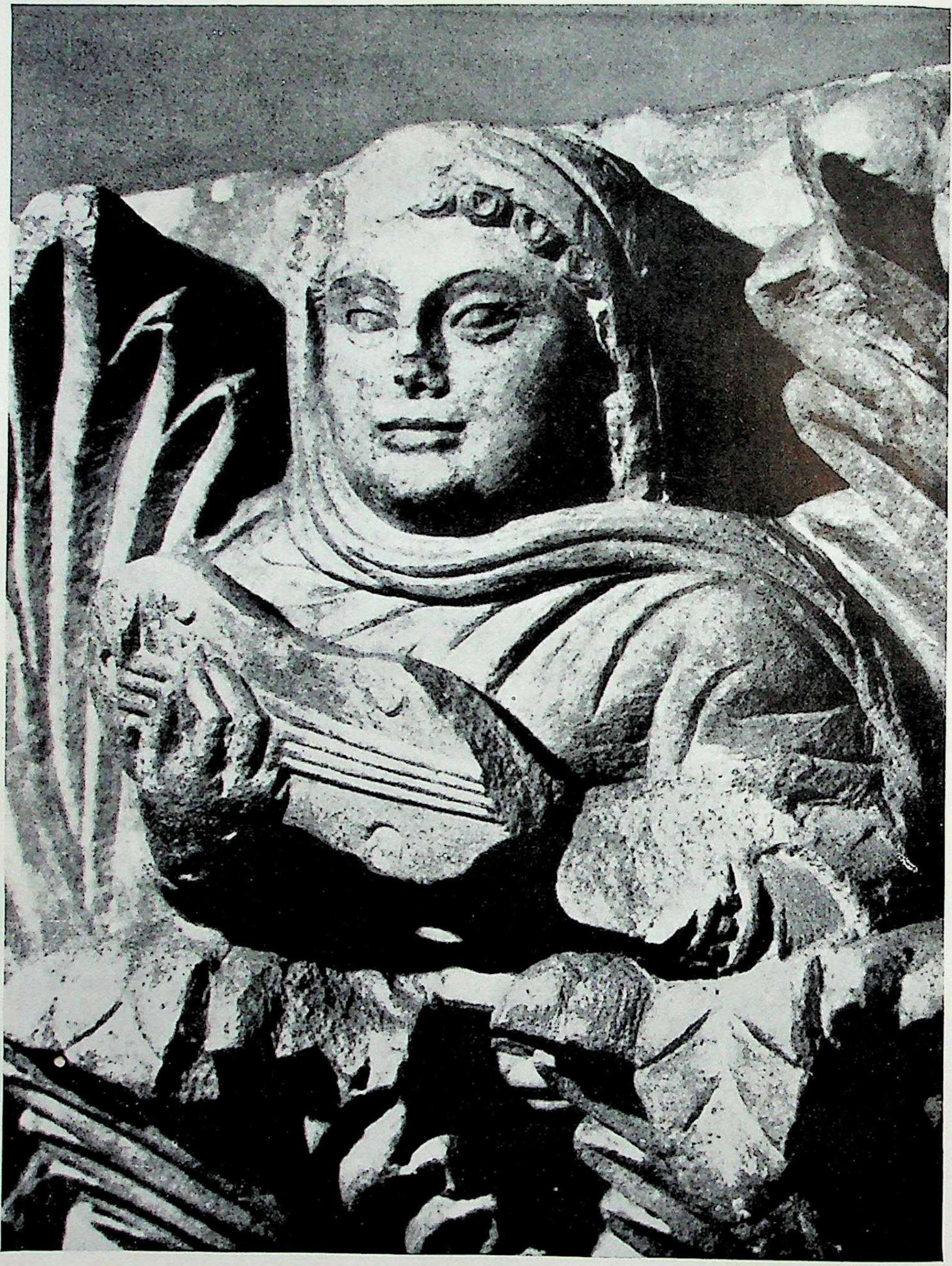
B. A. Turgunov, The Airtam town-site 182

O. V. Obelchenko, Kurgan burial sites of the Kushan epoch in the Bukhara oasis 183

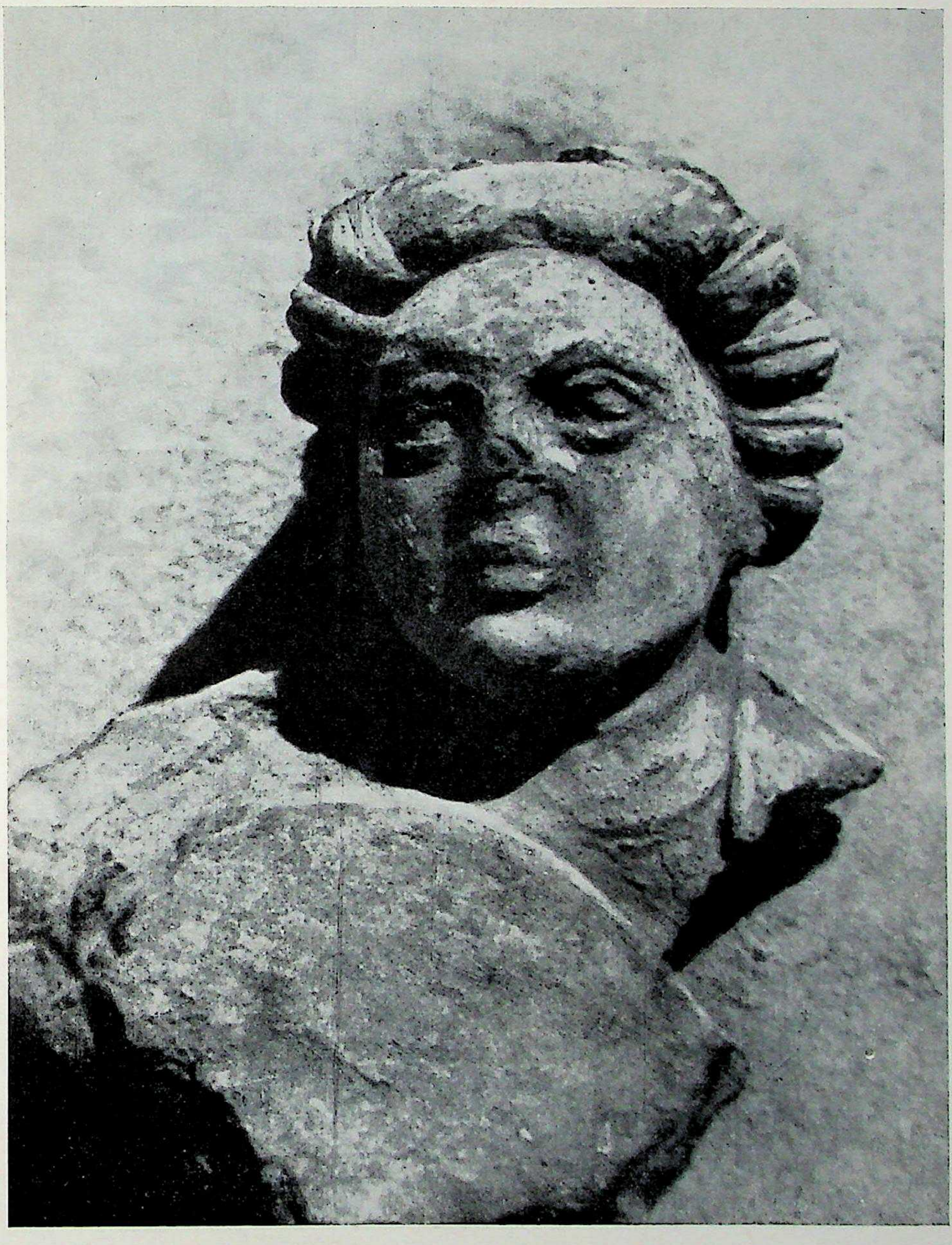
S. S. Chernikov, Some regularities of the historical development of early nomads (according to archaeological materials from the western Altai). 185



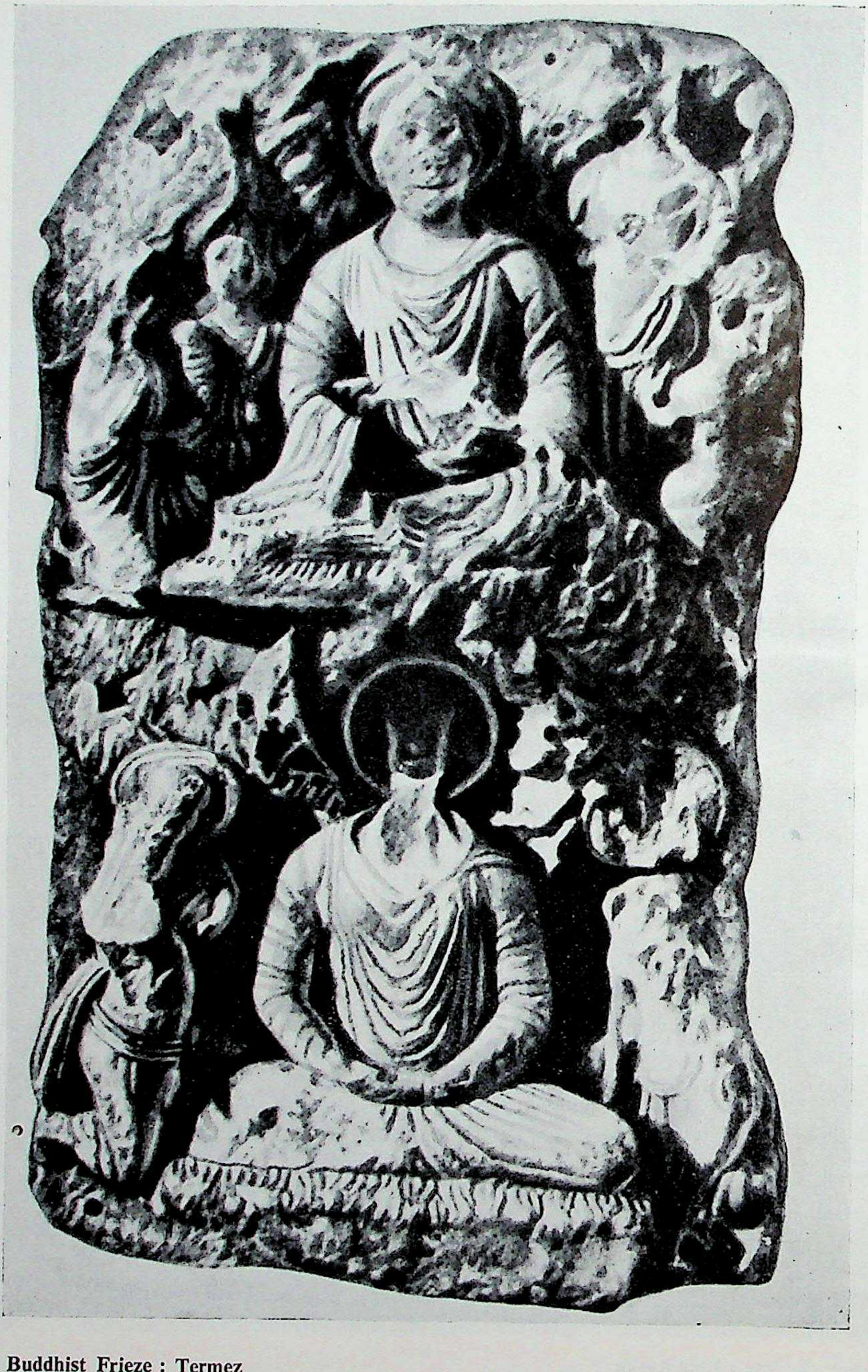
Head of a Kushan prince : Khalchayan



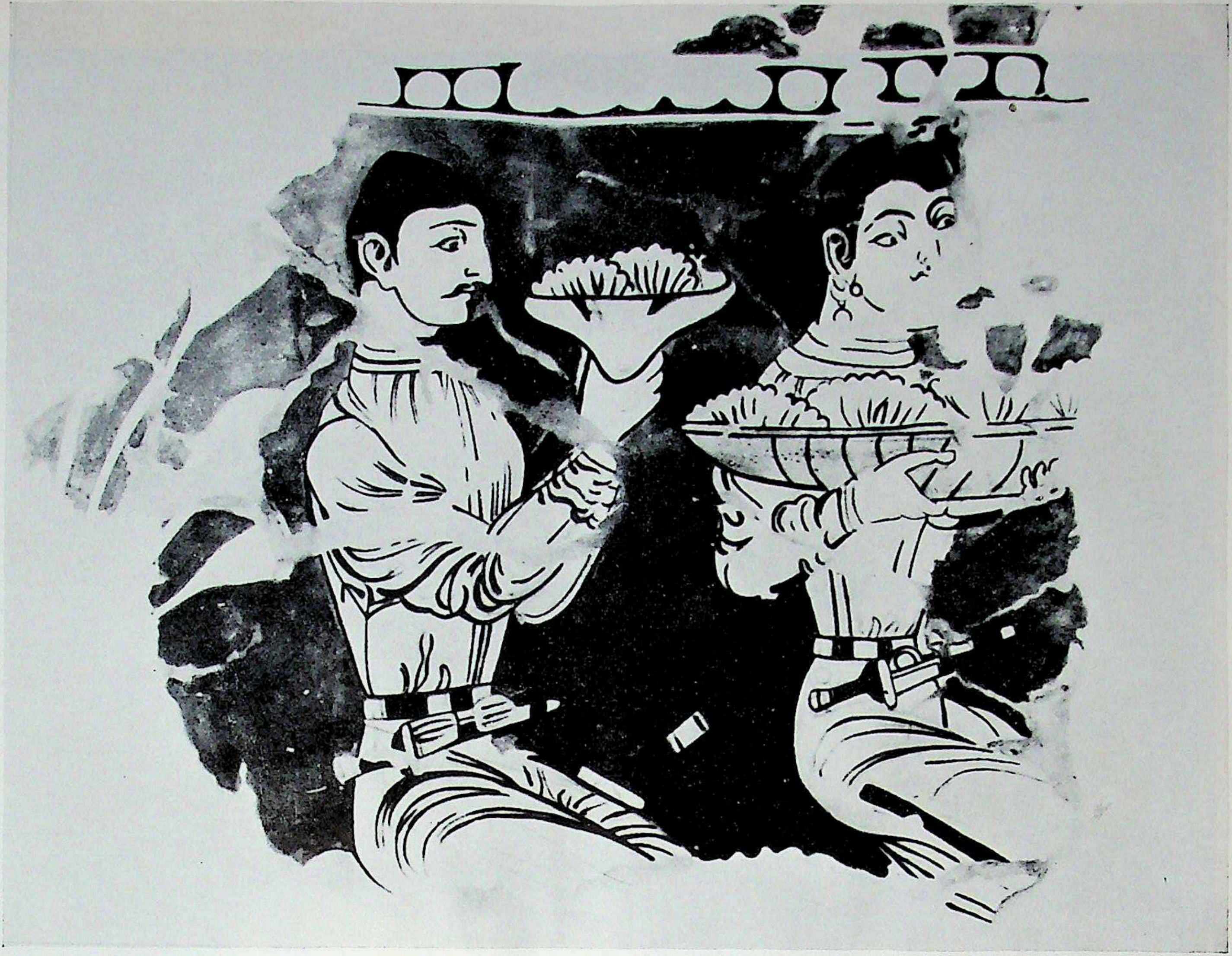
Girl playing the lute : Airtam figure



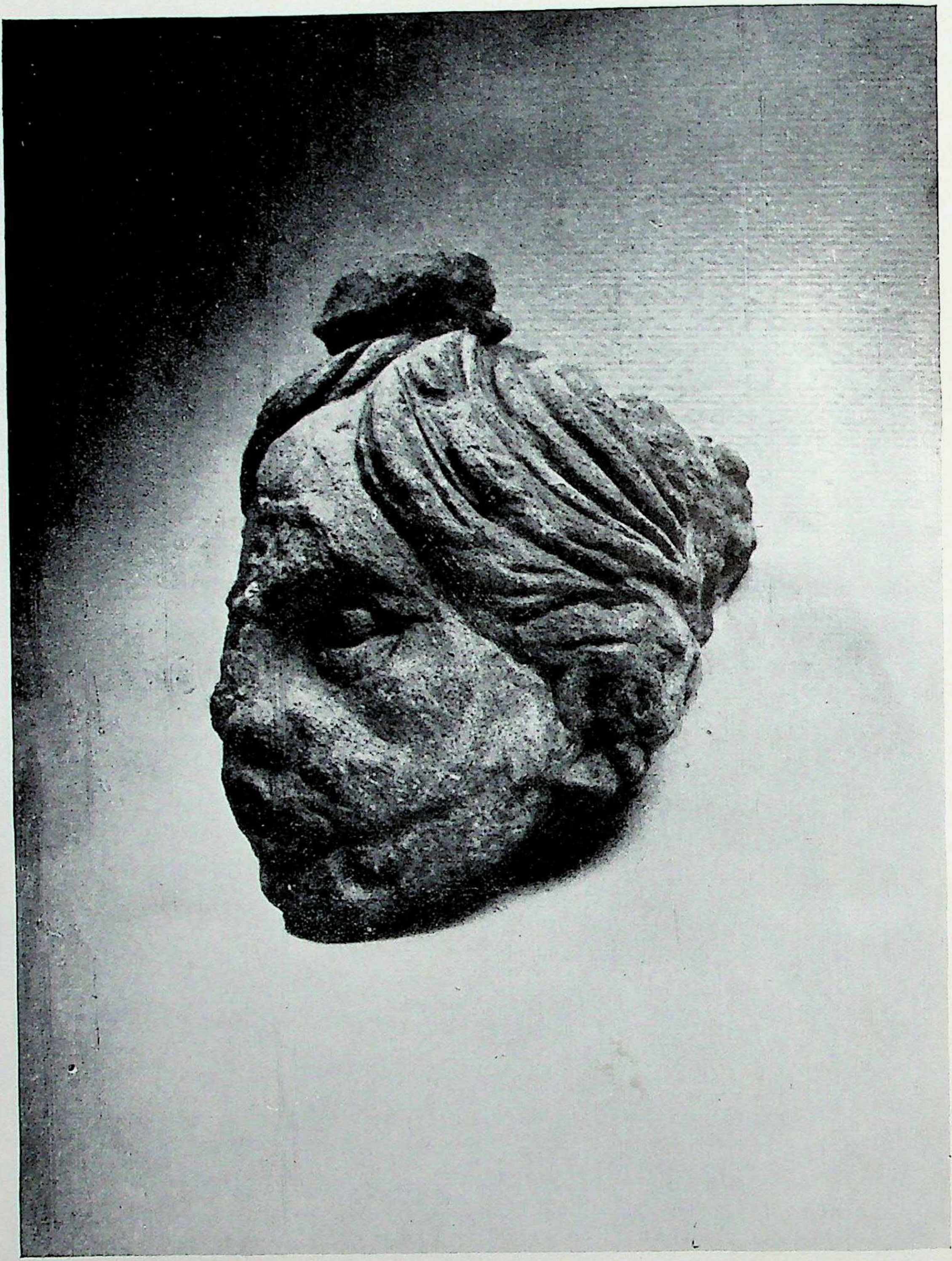
Girl playing the lute : Khalchayan



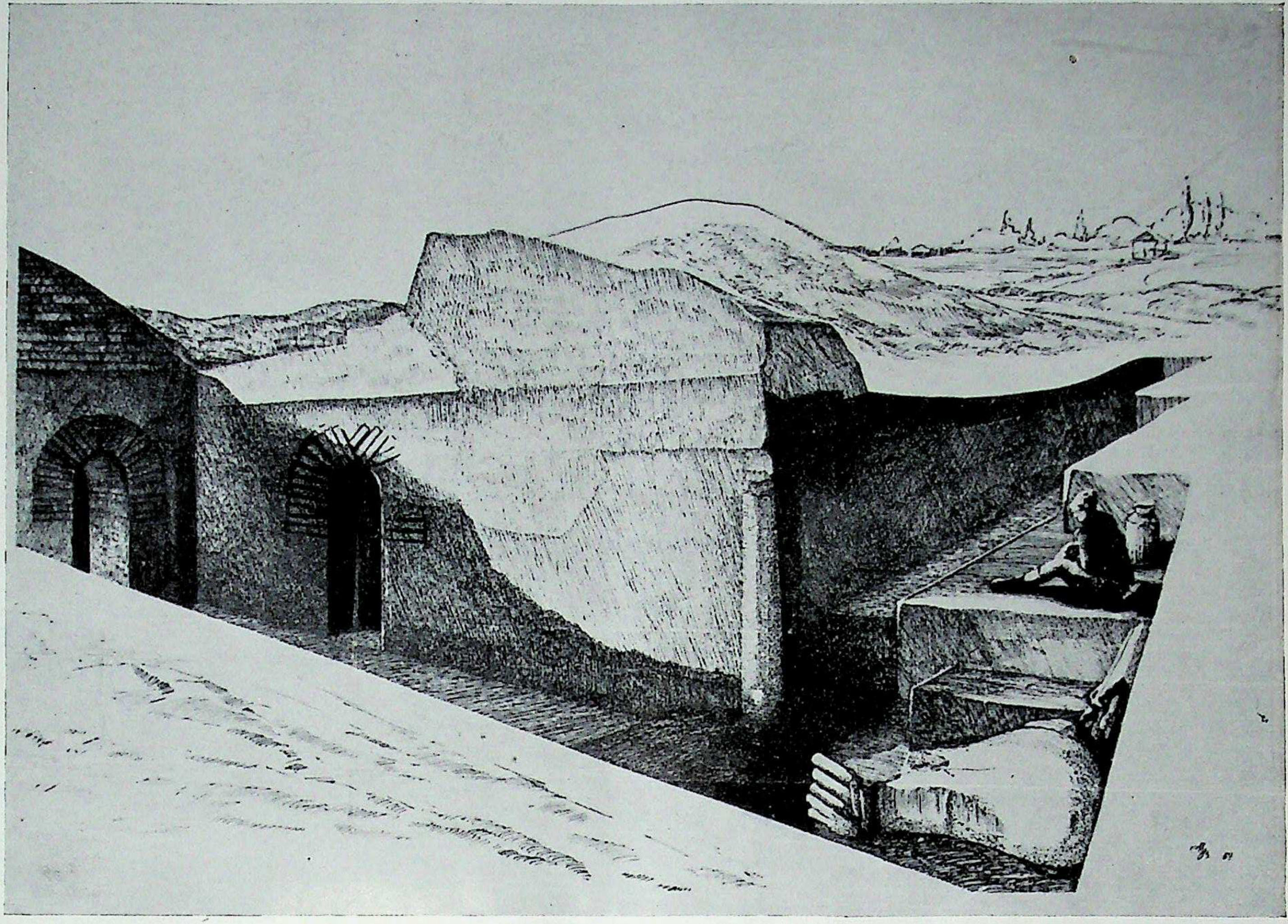
Buddhist Frieze : Termez



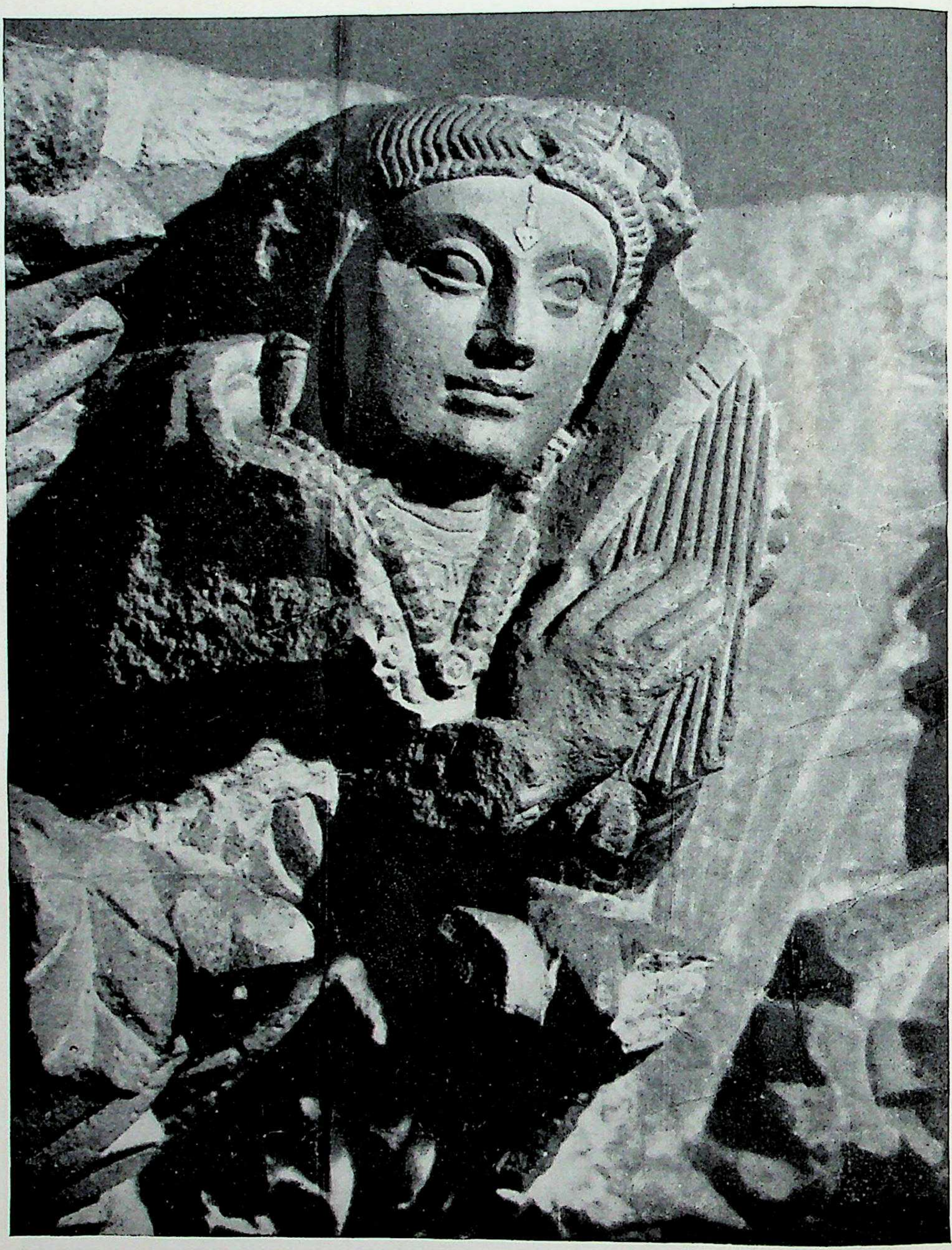
Wall-painting : Adzhina-tepe



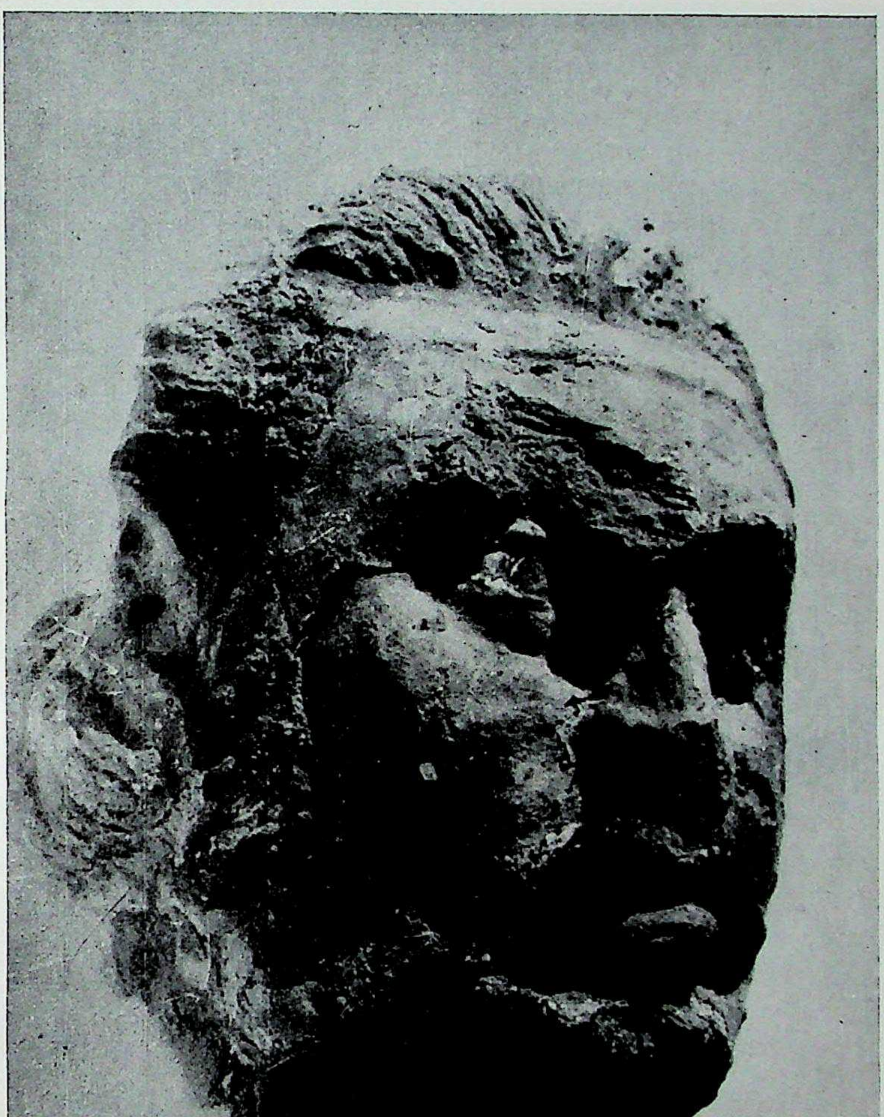
Head of Kasyapa (?) : Adzhina-tepe



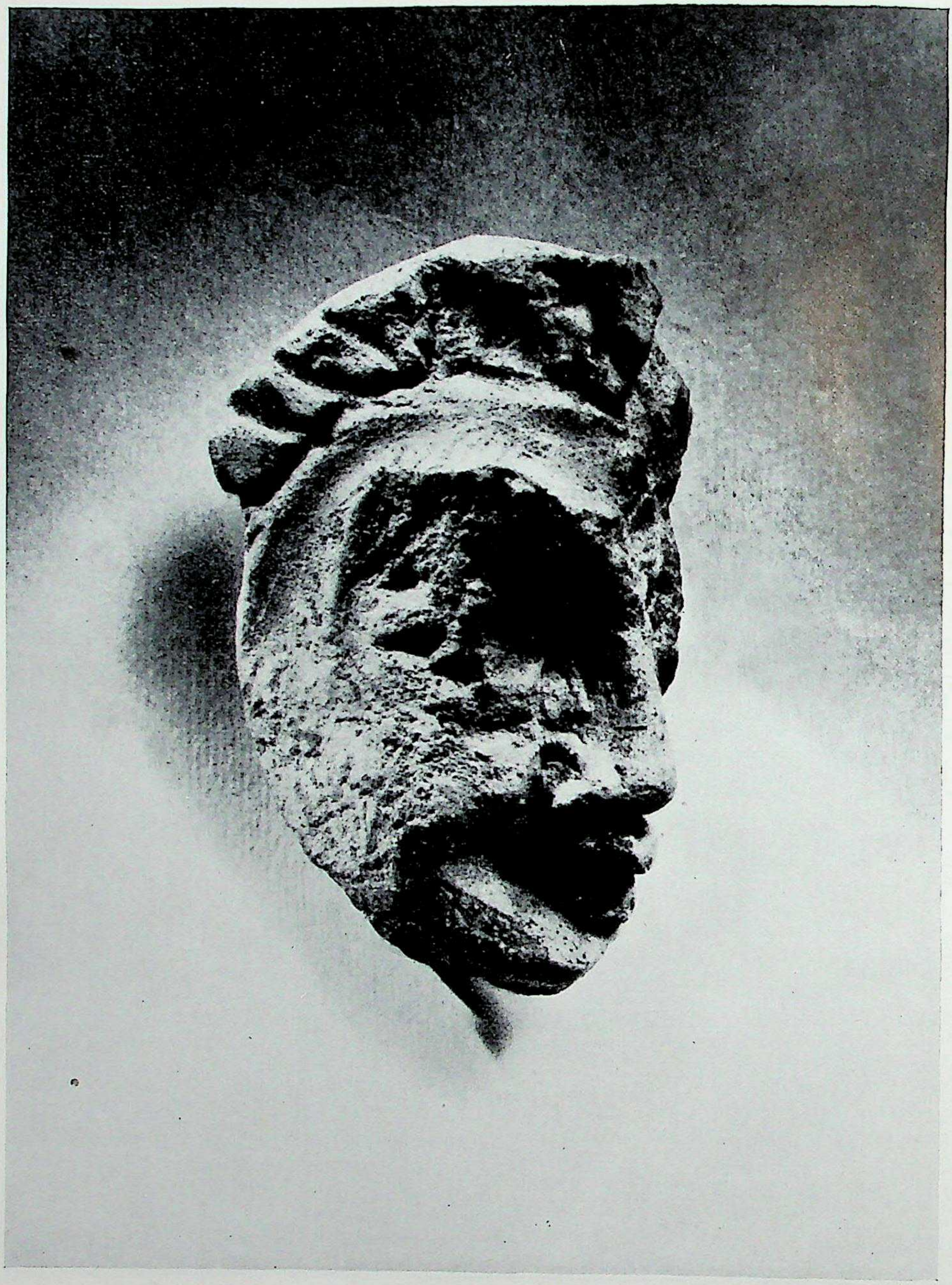
Part of the Buddhist monastery [reconstruction] : Adzhina-tepe



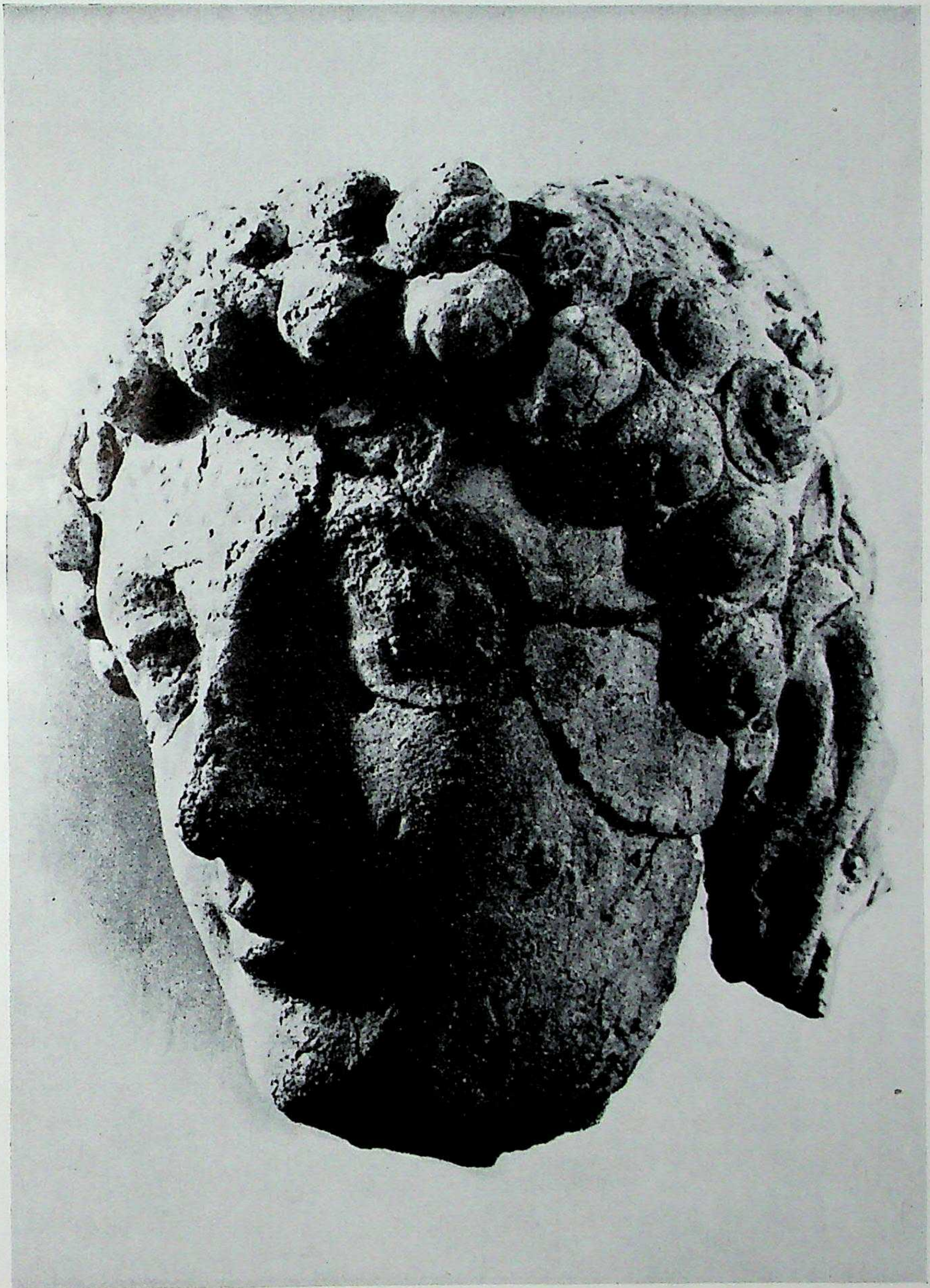
Girl playing the harp : Airtam Figure



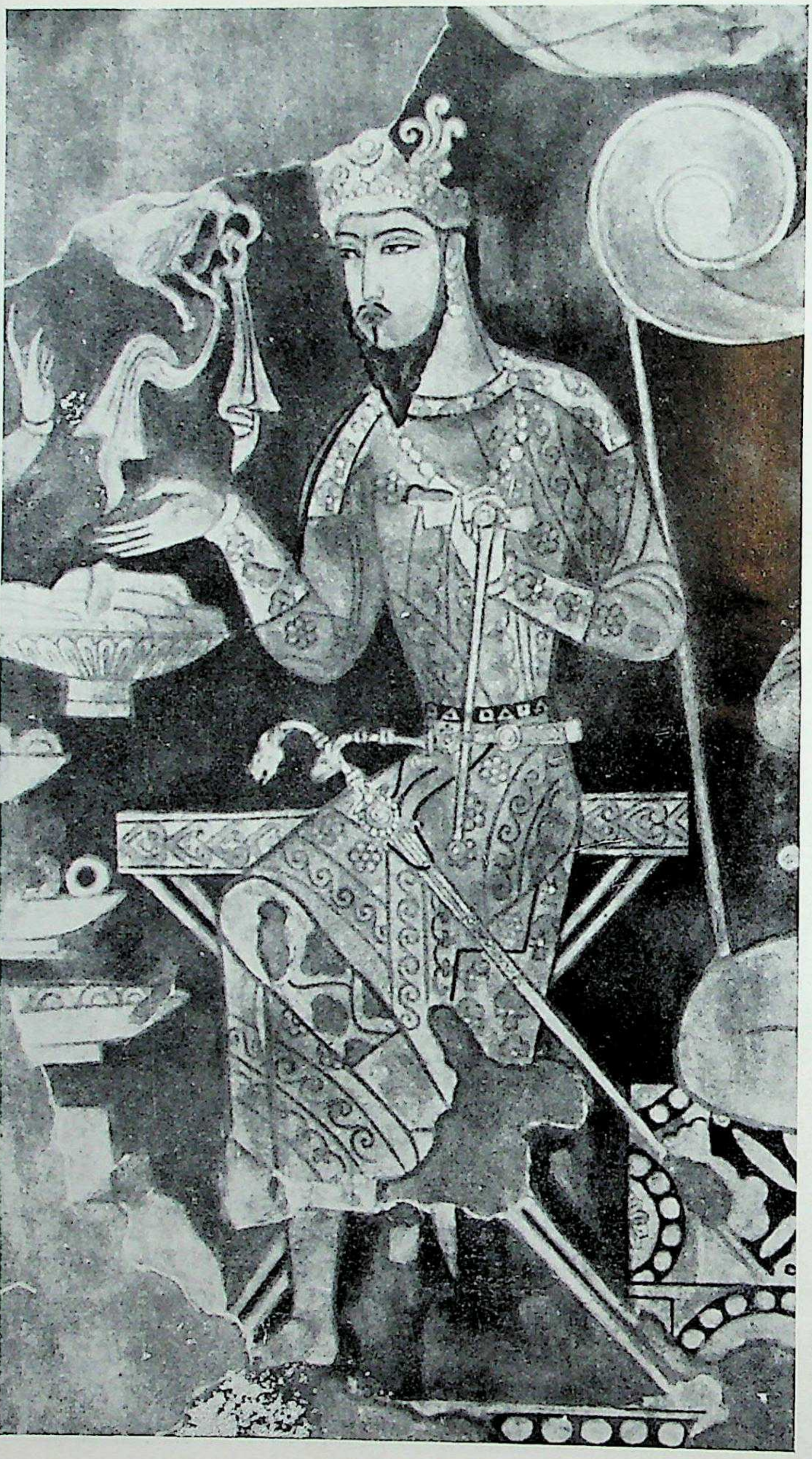
Head of a Kushan warrior : Khalchayan



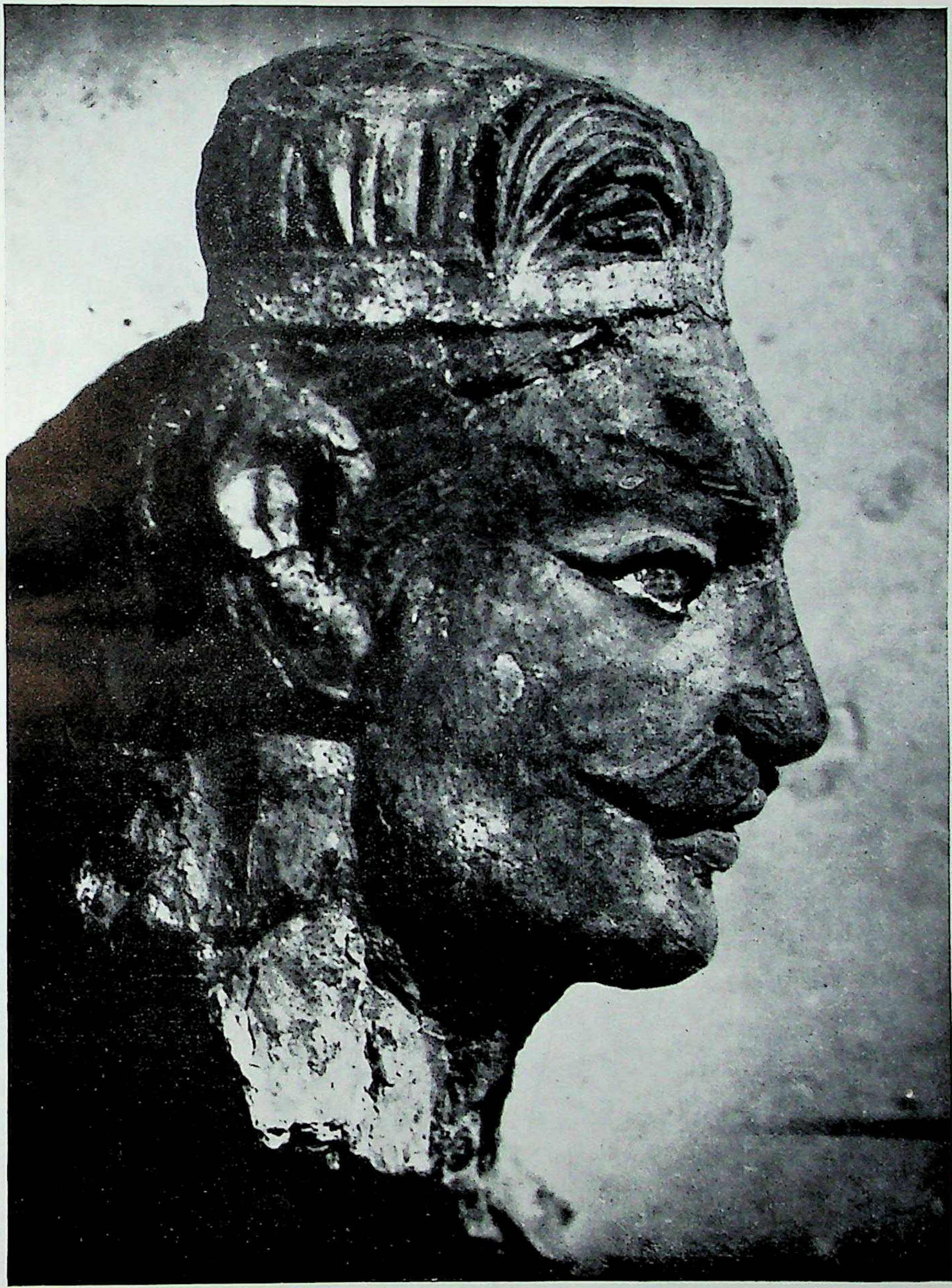
Head of a Buddhist : **Adzhina-tepe**



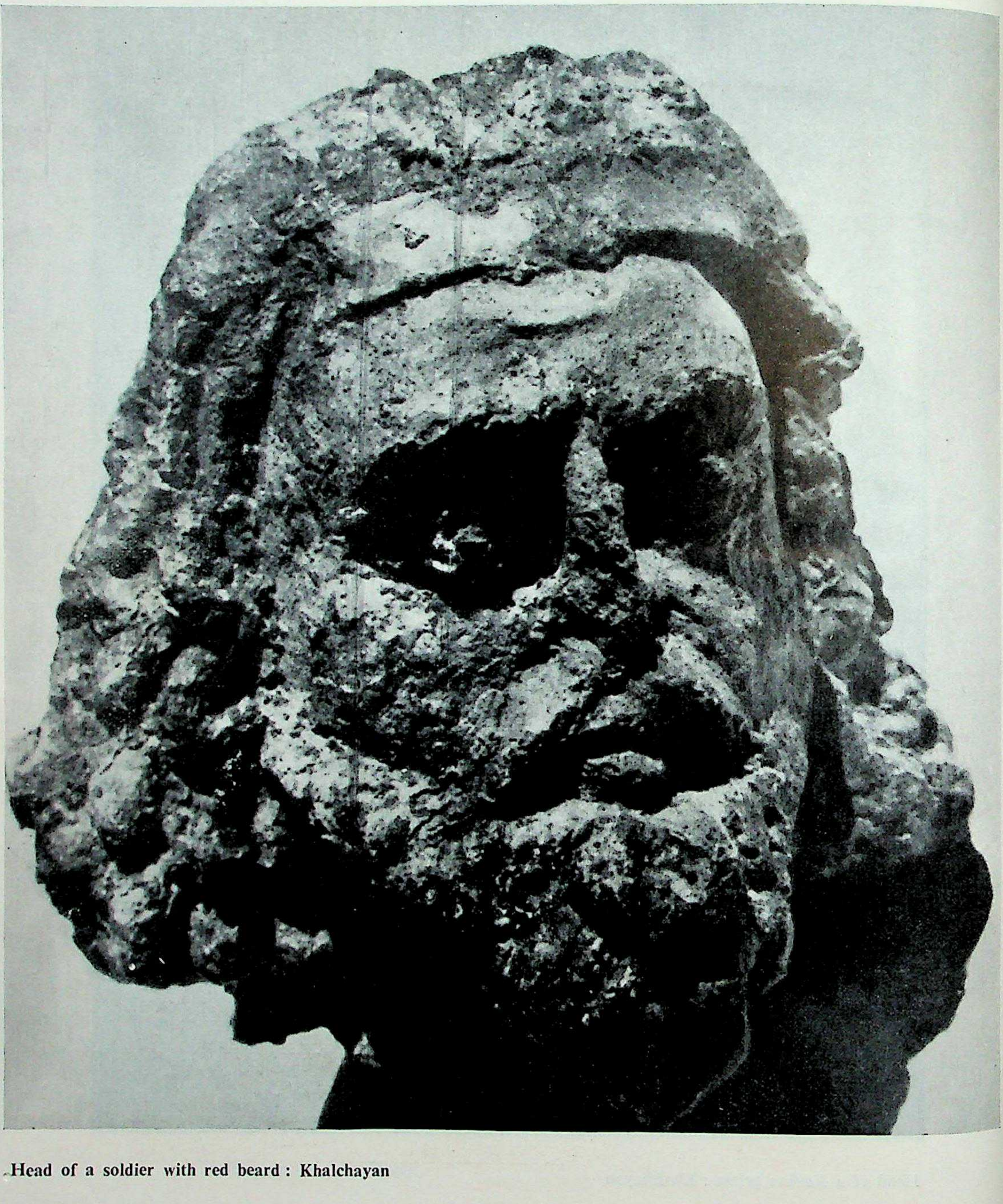
Head from the Buddhist complex : Dalverzin-tepe



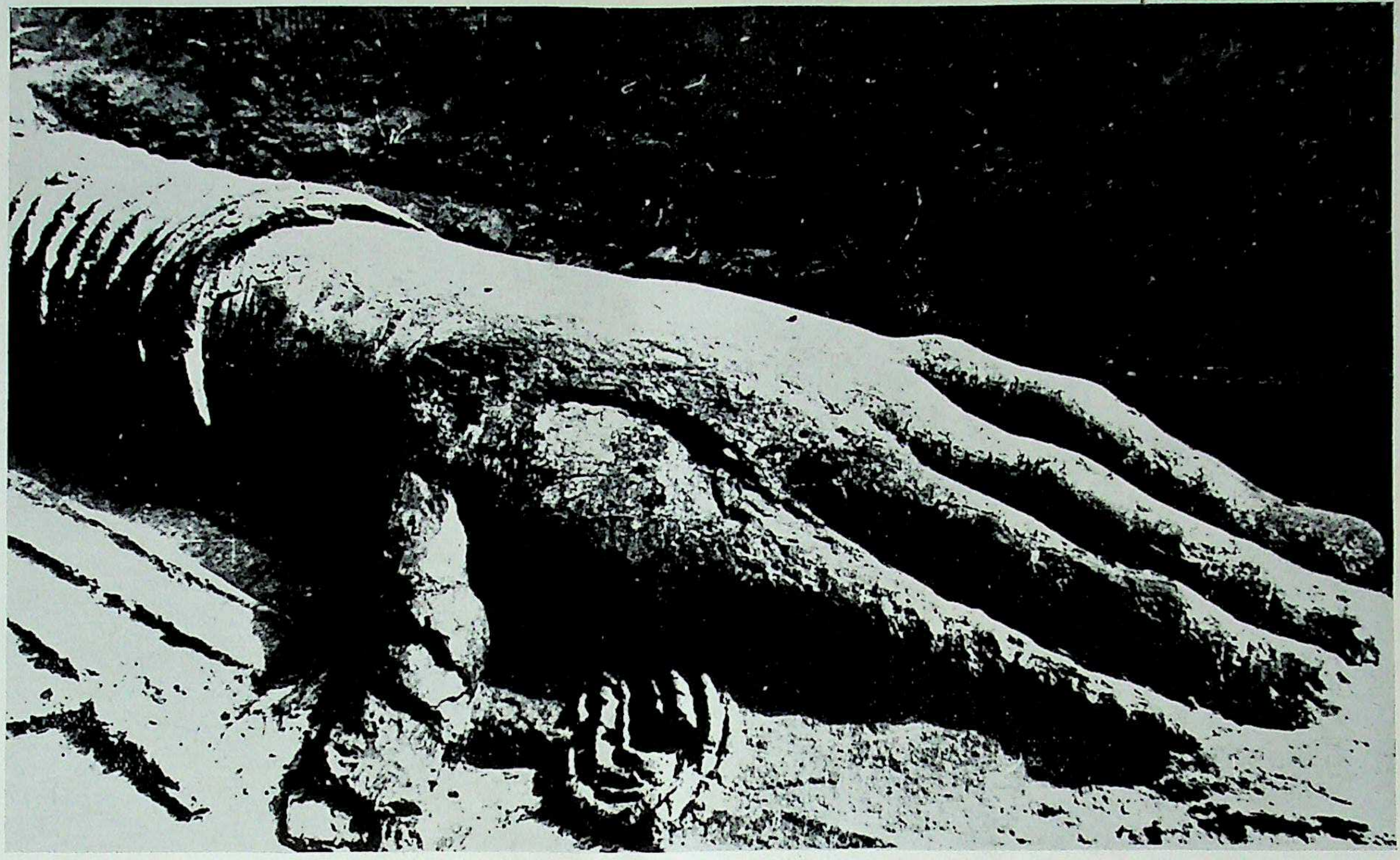
Wall-painting : Pianjikent



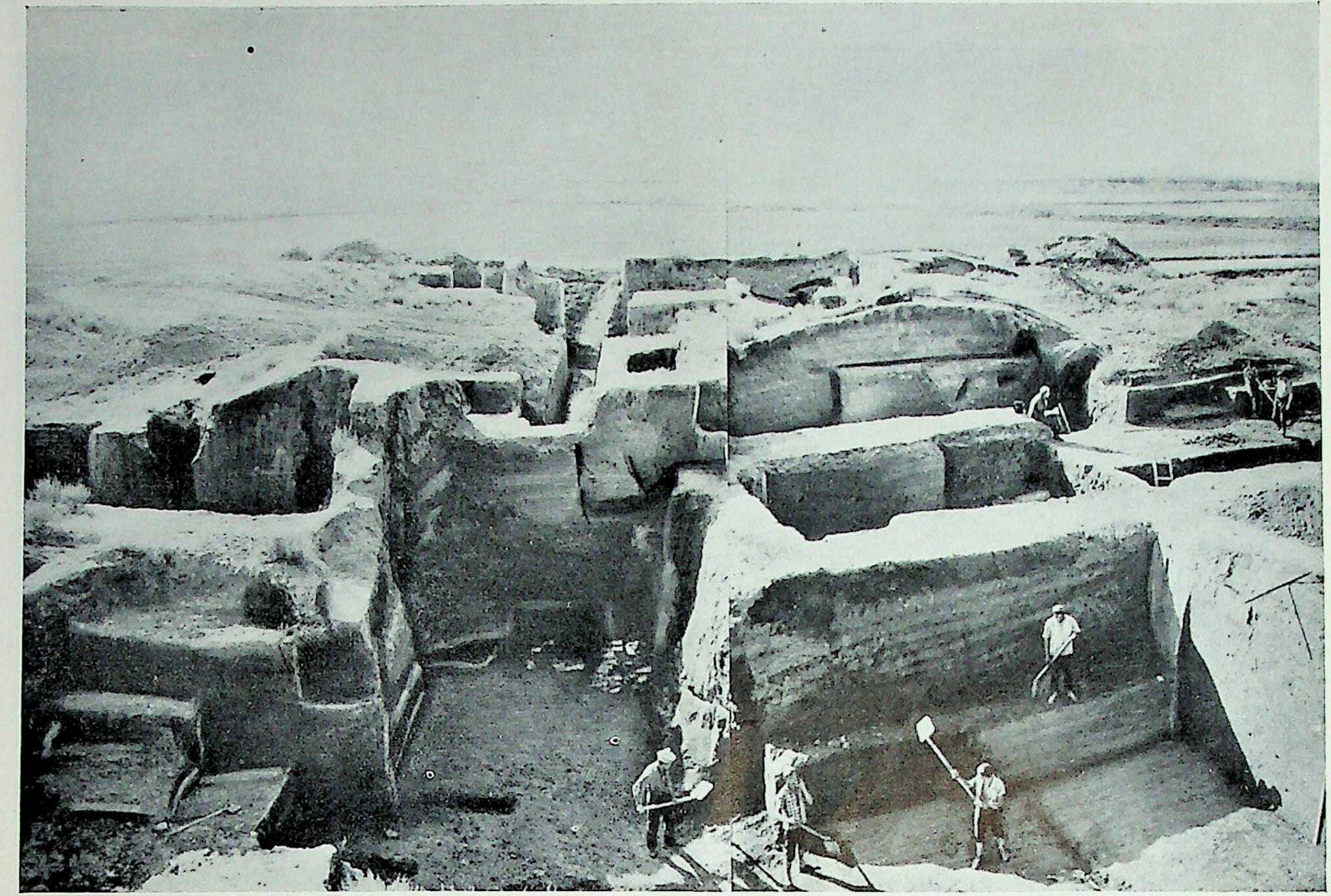
Head of a Kushan prince : Khalchayan



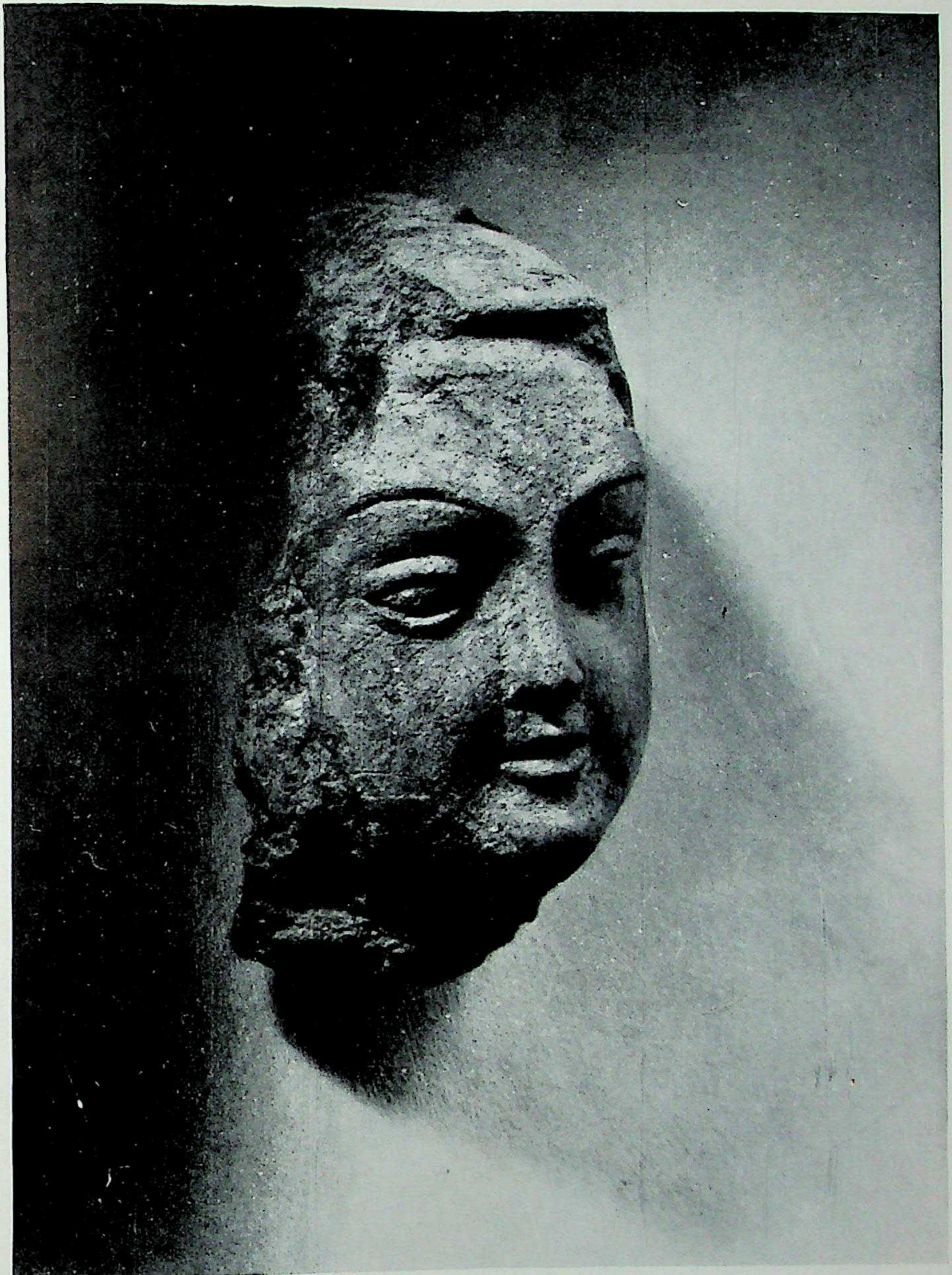
Head of a soldier with red beard : Khalchayan



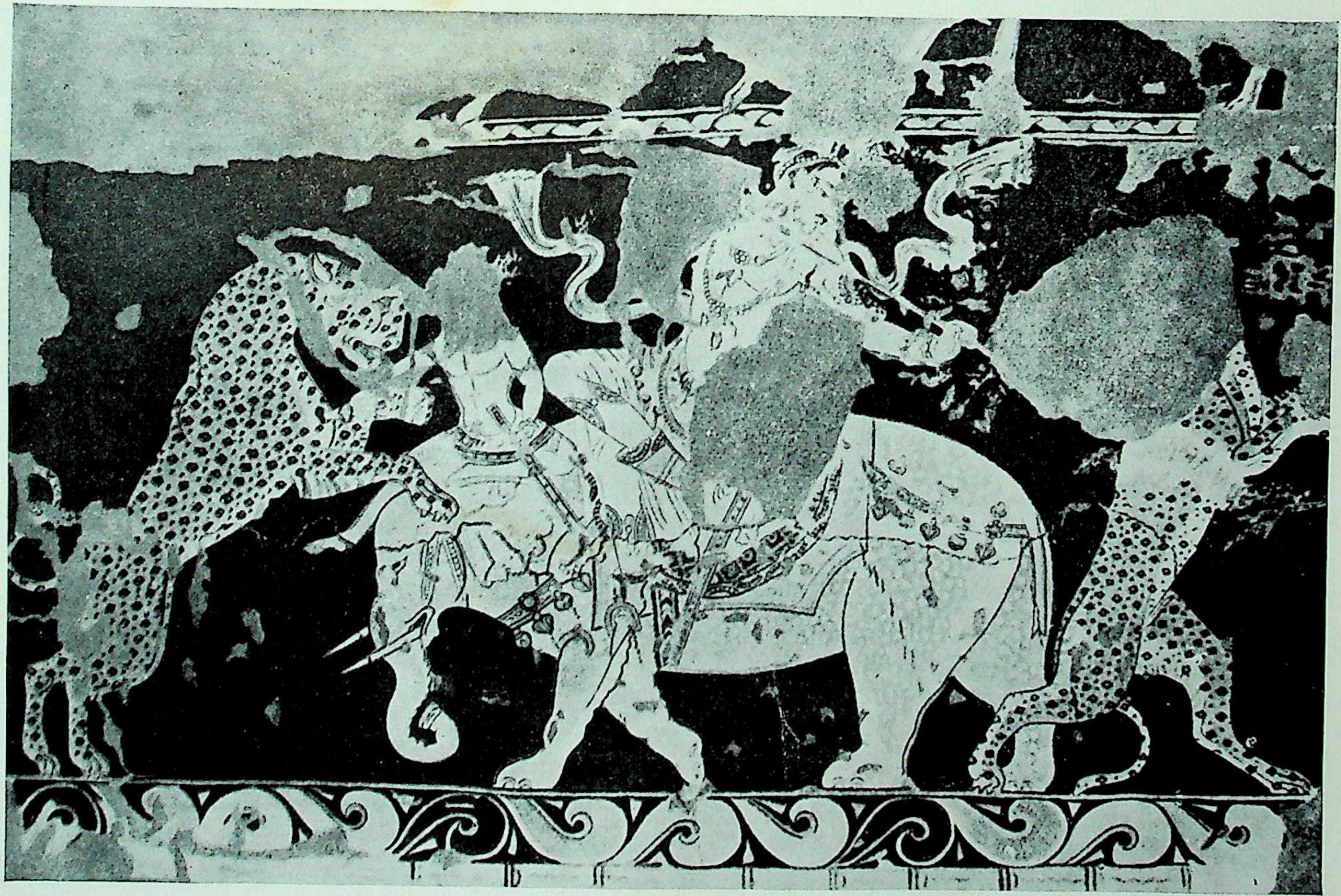
Hand of the Buddha : Adzhina-tepe



Excavation of the Buddhist monastery : Adzhina-tepe



Head of the Buddha : Adzhina-tepe



Hunting on elephants (Wall-painting) : Varakhsha

KUSHAN CIVILISATION AND WORLD CULTURE

G. Gafurov

K. 1

Many chapters in the history of mankind convince us that the West and the East have in the past had many fruitful contacts. Our aim is to restore and interpret those pages which for various reasons still remain undeciphered or purely obscure.

The Kushan period stands out in the history of India, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Central Asia and Iran. But the Kushan era was also a landmark in the historical and cultural progress of the East as such and of mankind as a whole. An extremely significant development was the political unification of peoples and tribes with a different ethnic background, language, culture and religion. More than 2000 years ago Central Asia, North India, West Pakistan, Afghanistan and East Iran were united in a single state formation. This mighty empire stretched from the Aral Sea to the Indian Ocean and came to rank with the three other great powers of that epoch—Rome, Parthia and China—forming one of the most important links in the political system of the ancient world.

In the annals of world history, the Kushan period was not merely an era of political unity between many peoples of the East. It was a new stage in the cultural development of the East and of world civilisation as such,—a period in which solid foundations were laid for the efflorescence of culture in the epochs to follow.

At the same time the Kushan period was the result of the long process of development of the peoples of India, Afghanistan, Central Asia, Pakistan, Iran, and a number of other countries. Major state formations had already existed in every one of these countries before : the Maurya empire, extending over a large territory including the greater part of India and regions in Afghanistan ; also, the Achaemenian and Parthian kingdoms. Even in the Achaemenian epoch, many peoples and countries, from Egypt and the Greek Aegean towns to the steppes of Central Asia and regions along the Indus, were united within the bounds of one state. Various data contained in written sources and ample archaeological material testify to the closeness of the economic, trade and cultural relations existing in the Achaemenian period between the peoples of this vast area. The affinity of the cultures of the peoples of Iran, Central Asia, Afghanistan and the neighbouring regions of India and Pakistan was of a particular nature owing to the many common ethnic and cultural characteristics they had inherited and the contacts they had maintained before the Achaemenian era.

Bactria was the original nucleus and centre of the Kushan kingdom. By the time nomad tribes appeared here (in the 2nd century B. C.)—from whose midst the Kushan dynasty probably stemmed—Bactria already possessed rich traditions of developed state organisation and culture. The emergence of a class society and the establishment of the first state formations on the territory of

Bactria and neighbouring regions in Central Asia and Afghanistan date back to the pre-Achaemenian period. Investigating a large amount of material, Soviet archaeologists have proved the existence of settled farmers' cultures, rather developed for their time, in a number of Central Asian districts long before the 1st millennium B. C.

The first centuries of that millennium were marked by a further development of productive forces in different branches of production ; the techniques of iron smelting were mastered on quite a large scale ; artificial irrigation, which had already become the basis of agriculture in many parts of Central Asia, changed in character, and complex irrigation schemes and watering systems were now built. Large settlements with citadels and palace-type buildings, erected on artificial platforms made of raw brick or clay, appeared nearby and in direct connection with these systems. Such settlements definitely existed in a number of regions as far back as the 9th and 7th centuries B. C. in Margiana (in the oases of the townsites of Yaz-tepe and Aravli-tepe), in northern Parthia (Elken-tepe), and elsewhere. It is likely that the walled settlements in the other regions appeared in the same period. Material from Bactria made it possible to assume that an urban civilisation had appeared there before the 6th century B. C. The new excavations made in Kuchuk-tepe near Termez, on the territory of northern Bactria, brought to light the remains of a walled palace-type settlement of the kind which existed early in the first millennium B.C.

Similar processes of social and cultural development were taking place in that same period in the adjacent districts of Afghanistan—as testified by the excavations at Nad-i-Ali and other places. It must be noted that such towns as Merv (Gyaur-kala), Samarkand (the Marakanda of ancient authors), Afrasiab and Bactra (Balkh) in southern Bactria, which later played such a prominent role in the history of Central Asia, already existed in the 6th and 5th centuries B. C. as extensive settlements with citadels.

The date of the construction of large irrigation systems and the emergence of large fortified settlements with citadels and palace-type buildings indicates, in conjunction with some other evidence, that in the history of many regions of Central Asia the 9th-6th centuries were the period during which a class society and the most ancient state system were formed.

Archaeological data have allowed a reassessment to be made of the evidence of written sources pointing to the existence of large political alliances in Central Asia in the pre-Achaemenian times. One of them apparently included the territories from Khorezm to Parthia and Areya (Gerat district). Another and evidently more solid formation had Bactria for its centre to which Margiana and, possibly, Sogdiana belonged at a certain period. In the Achaemenian era, Bactria assumed a leading position in the political, economic and cultural life of all the eastern regions of the Achaemenian state.

It is indisputable that in large measure Bactria owed the honour to its high level of development and the position which it had attained in the preceding epoch. Evidently, it was for the same reason that it was the main seat of Greek power in the East, very soon to grow into an independent Graeco-Bactrian kingdom.

And so the tribes which came to Bactria in the 2nd century B. C. encountered a highly developed civilisation, solid local traditions of government, a developed economy, and an original culture. Under these conditions the new-comers themselves made rapid progress in their social and cultural development, and a new political union was formed, making the nucleus of the Kushan empire—one of the world powers of that time.

The origin of these new tribes and their appearance in Bactria remain obscure to this day. However, thanks to the investigations of Soviet archaeologists in Soviet Central Asia, and especially in South Tajikistan, that is, on the territory of ancient Bactria, we can speak with greater certainty about some aspects of the settling of nomad tribes which appeared in Bactria in the pre-Kushan period. Excavations of kurgan burials (especially in the Bishkent valley) prove that large groups of nomads (only recently settled there, as witnessed by the archaeological finds) lived outside the agricultural areas at the end of the first millennium B. C. From this we must apparently gather that the nomad immigrants did not want to trespass on the agricultural oases. We also know that these nomad groups lived near the Amu Darya and between its main crossings on the boundary line between northern and southern Bactria.

Data of this kind, when summed up, testify to the political role played by the nomads on the territory of Bactria prior to the formation of the Kushan kingdom, and show the character of their relations with the old settled population there.

The coexistence and close cooperation of the agricultural regions with the area of nomad tribes over the course of centuries and millenniums was a typical feature in the historical development of Central Asia and many other countries of the East. Archaeological material relating to the epoch noted for the expansion of agricultural oases in the south of Central Asia before the 1st millennium B. C., testifies to the existence of lively contacts between the inhabitants of these oases and the semi-nomad livestock breeders of the steppelands. Written sources of a later period provide us with many vivid examples of the conflicts and contacts between the nomads and the settled land tillers.

True, the history of relations between the two worlds abounds in tragic episodes—plundering raids, massacres, and the destruction of material and cultural values. But we must not forget that the contacts between the nomad and the agricultural tribes and peoples also had their many beneficial consequences. Their cultures were mutually enriched, there was an exchange of economic know-how and very often these contacts gave rise to essentially new and progressive processes of social and political development in countries and areas which were involved in these contacts.

For instance, it may be recalled that the formation of a class society and the first state systems in the principal agricultural regions of Central Asia (in the first centuries of the 1st millennium B. C.) coincided with the energetic penetration or "conquest" of these regions by peripheral steppeland tribes (which is called "the period of barbarous occupation" of the south of Central Asia). The same was observed in the early history of Bactria where a state system, in its early forms, already existed in the 7th-6th centuries B. C. As is known, this was the time when the East Iranian Saka tribes spread to the highlands of the Pamir and the boundaries of India. New excavations in South Tajikistan—in ancient Bactria—showed that different groups of newly arrived livestock-breeding tribes, evidently of Iranian or Indo-Iranian origin (according to finds from the Tulkhar and Araktau burials) settled here at the end of the 2nd millennium and in the early centuries of the 1st millennium B.C. All these processes were obviously interconnected and were an important factor in the development of ancient society and the Bactrian state.

The part played by the nomad tribes in furthering the political consolidation is very distinctly revealed in the history of European Scythia. It was under the impact of a group of nomad Scythians, coming from the East from across the Volga, that the agricultural and nomad Scythian tribes in the plain adjoining the Black Sea were united and the Scythian kingdom was formed (7th-3rd centuries B. C.) to play such a prominent part in the history of the ancient world and of the peoples of the USSR.

A similar process evidently took place when the Kushan kingdom was formed. The appearance of nomads with their living traditions of the tribal system and military organisation prompted these vast regions to unite in a single political formation. The migration wave which at the end of the 1st millennium B. C. rolled over Central Asia and over the territory which now comprises Afghanistan, West Pakistan and North India, and swallowed up the restless world of the Greek dynasts, prepared the ground for the establisment of the Kushan empire.

The nomad tribes made a sizeable contribution to Kushan culture. The influence of Scythian-Sarmatian traditions can be traced in many works of Kushan art, and the important role they played in Kushan society can now be better appreciated in the light of new evidence obtained from the excavations of pre-Kushan and early-Kushan sites in the south of Central Asia, from which it may be seen that the existing cultural traditions were linked with the north of Central Asia and even the Sarmatian area.

The question of the composition and origin of the tribal alliances which destroyed the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom remains extremely complicated and unclarified. But archaeologists are shedding some light on this most puzzling problem as well. They are now inclined to support the opinion of those scholars who attribute a role of importance to the tribes from the northern regions of Central Asia, on a par with those coming from the East under pressure exerted by the Huns—the yüeh-Chih, Wu-Sun and Sakas.

The discovery of new inscriptions and especially the inscriptions at Surkh Kotal have enabled researchers to form an opinion of the ruling language in Bactria-Tukhāristān in the Kushan and post-Kushan periods.

Today most of the scholars agree with the opinion of Prof. W. B. Henning. He holds that "Bactrian" was the ancient language of Bactria, spoken here long before the invasion of the nomad tribes in the 2nd century B.C. This conclusion once again confirms the leading role played by the autochthonous population in the history of Kushan Bactria, which—however important the role of the new tribes—was the basic factor in shaping the Kushan ethnos and culture.

The arrival of the nomad tribes in Bactria was accompanied by the collapse of the Greek rulers' power in the heart of Asia. Later this led to the fall of the Greek rule in the domains south of the Hindu Kush.

The overthrow of the Greek elite's rule did not by any means imply a regression in the state organisation and culture of Bactria and the neighbouring regions. The Greek rulers of Bactria and India, who by the 2nd or 1st centuries B.C. had long lost their connection with the Mediterranean world, had turned into ambitious governors forever warring with one another and completely engrossed in their struggle for power and the acquisition of more new territory. It would be wrong, of course, to regard them as the bearers of the great cultural traditions of classical antiquity. On the contrary, in the heart of Asia these traditions began to be widely adopted and developed only after the quarreling Greek governors had been replaced by a sufficiently stable local rule.

At the same time the Greek influence in the pre-Kushan and early Kushan periods must not be underestimated. The interaction of the Greek and local Bactrian cultures, clearly traceable in the period of the Graeco-Bactrian and Kushan kingdoms, had a much earlier origin. It is known that men of Hellenic extraction appeared in Central Asia even in the Achaemenian era and that settlements of Greek colonists were built up then. Bactria played a special role in the eastern policy of Alexander the Great and his striving to unite the Hellenes with the Oriental peoples.

The Greek traditions in Bactria's culture were preserved and further assimilated in the Kushan era. "Kushan writing" became widespread at the time. It had a Greek origin and was adapted to recording local Bactrian speech. Books in this language, using the Greek alphabet, were written and preserved in Bactria-Tukhāristān up till the early Muslim period, as told by some Chinese and Arabic sources. The appearance of the "Kushan writing" was an event of tremendous cultural significance. Besides adopting the Greek alphabet, Bactria of the Kushan period assimilated many other achievements of classical antiquity, including the wonderful traditions of Greek art.

It was these three historico-cultural components—local Bactrian, Hellenic and nomad—which in combination with the independent, original traditions of the peoples in the neighbouring regions of Central Asia, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India and Iran, created that complex and original total of ethnic-cultural and socio-political phenomena which is how the Kushan world, still mysterious in many respects, appears to us today.

The emergence of the mighty Kushan kingdom, adjoining Han-dynasty China in the east and the Parthian kingdom in the west, united the oldest seats of civilisation in the Old World—whose links had been severed at an earlier date—into a single system of this foursome of great powers. Thereafter, for several centuries to come, all the civilised countries and regions of the Old world from the British Isles to the Pacific shores, found themselves either dominated or influenced by Rome, Parthia, the Han state and the Kushan empire, these four powers establishing close and multiform relations with one another. In one Chinese text the rulers of the Kushan Empire are called, along with the Roman and Han rulers, the "sons of heaven" between whom the universe was divided.

The Great Silk Route, the first transcontinental trade and diplomatic road in the history of mankind, was laid across the lands of the Kushans and the Parthians from China to the Mediterranean Roman empire. It was in that same era that navigators—more than a thousand years before Vasco da Gama—started sailing regularly across the Indian Ocean, plying their ships between Egypt, then conquered by the Romans, and West Indian ports, the sea gateway of the Kushan kingdom. There are grounds for assuming that the road, which was to gain such importance eventually, across the steppeland from the interfluvial area of the Amu Darya and the Syr Darya to the ancient East European towns north of the Black Sea, was laid in the same period. It follows that the wide and varied contacts between the peoples of the Mediterranean countries, the Near and Middle East, Central Asia, the Indian subcontinent and the Far East were particularly developed in the Kushan era.

Archaeologists find Kushan coins near Kiev, in Ethiopia, Scandinavia and towns of the Roman Empire, and Roman coins of Augustus, Tiberius and other emperors in the towns of Western and Southern India. In the north, Kushan coins were discovered in the Kama area (west of the Urals) and a silver Khorezm vessel was found east of the Urals. Handicraftsmen in the ancient town once located on the site of Dushanbe made plates bearing the image of the Greek god Dionysus, while Roman patricians liked to adorn their homes with carved ivory figurines bought from Indian traders. Indian ivory articles of the Kushan period were found in Pompeii, and Roman glassware in the palace of the Kushan rulers in Begram. It is generally known that the Asiatic Mithra cult had spread to the

Roman Empire (all the way to Britain) ; that Oriental silks and spices were the fashion in Rome ; and that Roman articles were often discovered in the Near East, in Transcaucasia, India, Central Asia and Indo-China.

Kushan ambassadors attended the celebrations in Rome on the occasion of Trajan's victory over the Dacians ; and Titian, a Roman trader, travelled as far east as the western boundaries of China. The Kushan period, therefore, did not simply maintain the contacts established earlier between the East and the West, but made a qualitatively new stage in the development of this historico-cultural process.

Central Asia, whose own cultural values spread to the neighbouring and distant countries of the ancient world, played a part of exceptional importance by bringing the achievements of Graeco-Roman and Indian cultures to the peoples further east. According to written sources and archaeological finds-(primarily, the "old" Sogdian letters from East Turkistan), in the 4th century B. C. the whole eastern section of the Great Silk Route was plied by the Sogdian merchants who had founded their colonies and settlements in Central Asia and established trade and cultural relations with many different peoples. Sogdian silks, competing with Chinese and Near East silks, eventually penetrated to Byzantium and Western Europe, which was proved by the recent discovery of silks bearing Sogdian inscriptions in the depositories of churches in Europe. The Sogdian language was used in international contacts on a vast territory. V. Bartol'd, the prominent Russian scholar, quite rightly compared the activity of the Sogdians with the cultural activities of the ancient Phoenicians.

The economy of the peoples of Central Asia, Afghanistan, Pakistan, India and Iran began to flourish when their peoples united into a single state and felt relatively safe from foreign military invasion. Towns grew, urban handicrafts developed, trade flourished and farming methods were improved.

Archaeological excavations in Central Asia have shown that the Kushan period was characterised by a considerable development of agriculture and irrigation.

The coexistence between various ethnic-cultural traditions and different religious systems and creeds in the Kushan period was yet another significant feature. This was encouraged, in no small measure, by the policy of religious tolerance pursued by the Kushan kings, and in the first place by Kanishka and Huvishka. Striking evidence of this religious tolerance and the peaceful coexistence of various ideologies and cultural traditions in different ethnic-territorial zones is provided by the Kushan pantheon depicted on the coins of Kushan rulers. On Kanishka's coins, for instance, we find the names and images of deities associated with Indian, Iranian and Hellenistic pantheons. Beside Mithra, who embodies justice, and the goddess of fertility Ordokhsh, we find Veretragna, the mighty god of war, India's

Śiva and Buddha, Helios, Selena and even Serapis whose cult was popular in Hellenistic Egypt.

The syncretism of the Kushan pantheon, reflecting the ethnic and cultural heterogeneity of the vast empire's population, also speaks of the maturity of many customs and traditions common to the whole empire, elaborated in close association, reciprocal influence and mutual enrichment.

This tolerance, in the broad meaning of the word, was an essential condition for the development of culture and the elaboration of common cultural values for the whole of that vast region, and allowed the local traditions and local cultures to preserve their uniqueness. That is why we are fully justified to speak not only of Kushan culture and Kushan art as a whole, but also of local national schools and trends.

The existence of different religious systems and sects—Buddhism, Jainism, Shivaism, Zoroastrianism and others—on the territory of the Kushan Empire is borne out by various data. The population was familiar with many local creeds and tribal cults, and with Manichaeism too, most probably.

Such a variety of religious and philosophical systems and trends existing within the framework of one political organisation was a rare thing in the history of world civilisation.

It was in the Kushan era that Mahāyāna Buddhism received its peculiar development, becoming widespread in the countries of Central Asia and the Far East. Indian culture and art penetrated into these countries.

The relationship between the local creeds and those religious systems which, crossing the territorial bounds of one country, became widespread far beyond their place of origin, presents an exceptionally interesting problem.

The spread of such great religions as Buddhism did not mean the annihilation or assimilation of local creeds and traditions. It was an intricate process of mutual influences, a creative adoption of the new, and a modification of the imported traditions under the impact of the local ones. The history of Buddhism in Central Asia provides the researcher with exceptionally interesting and important material, although Buddhism was not the predominant religion there.

The adepts of Buddhism in Bactria did not simply memorise Buddhist texts, translating them from the Sanskrit, but interpreted them in their own way and wrote their comments. This creative approach to Buddhism found its reflection in Buddhist temple architecture: in their layout and arrangement the Buddhist temples in Bactria (and later in Central Asia generally) as a rule copied not the Buddhist shrines in pre-Kushan or early Kushan India, but temple ensembles typical of the Near and Middle East with their enclosed sanctuary, surrounded by narrow processional corridors (excavations at Kara-tepe). This local strain in Central Asia's Buddhism survived until a later period as seen from the excavations of Adzhina Tepe, a Buddhist monastery in southern Tajikistan.

Apart from Buddhism which came to Bactria-Ṭukhāristān from India, local creeds and cults were also practised here under the Kushans. It is symptomatic that Kushan coins carry the image of the local river god Vakhsh-Okhsho who, the scholars presume, has become iconographically merged with India's Śiva.

Our information on the role of local Central Asian creeds in Ṭukhāristān under the Kushans also comes from the excavations of burial sites.

The Bactrian-Tukharian school, which grew to maturity on the local Central Asian traditions of Kushan art, made a sizeable contribution to the Buddhist art of Central Asia. It was from Central Asia that Buddhist culture spread to the east, to China, Japan and Korea. In the light of the new archaeological finds in Central Asia, the role of its Buddhist adepts in spreading their teaching further, to Central Asia and to China, acquires particular significance. Suffice it to recall the evidence of Chinese writings which give the names of some ten Buddhist monks hailing from Bactria, Sogd and Parthia, who had written impressive theological treatises and had translated them into Chinese. The assertions of scholars that if it were not for the Central Asian monks China would have known next to nothing about Buddhism in the 2nd-4th centuries A. D. are perfectly justified.

In the light of the new archaeological investigations, greater importance is attributed to the role played by Central Asian craftsmen in acquainting the peoples of Asia and China with the achievements of the Graeco-Roman world, and also the role played by Central Asian merchants in popularising Far Eastern silks and other goods in the Mediterranean world of the Roman Empire.

Regular contacts between Central Asia and China were established in the Kushan era, and the Chinese borrowed a number of plants from Central Asia, including alfalfa, the grapevine, and possibly cotton.

The Chinese Wall did not prevent the peoples of the Far East from enriching their culture with achievements of ancient Indian and Central Asian civilisation, just as it did not prevent the peoples of Central Asia, India and the Mediterranean countries from acquainting themselves with the cultural achievements of the great Chinese people. Central Asia was becoming the link between the Near and the Far East, but it was not a mechanical transmission of cultural values from one people to another : it was a creative process in which the cultural achievements were developed to a higher level before they were passed on. These extensive international ties and the practice of acquainting the peoples with the culture of other lands promoted mutual enrichment and development of cultures, which would be inconceivable if people were isolated from the outside world by an artificial wall.

It was in the Kushan era that the peoples of the East began to appreciate as never before the benefits of cultural relations and contacts, and so they proceeded to evolve common cultural values and build up a community of culture for everyone inhabiting the great empire. A most important feature of these cultural contact was that in the process of cooperation each culture retained its local traditions, original character and national identity.

These features and the unique character of the local trends and schools became particularly apparent in recent investigations launched on a large scale in India, Afghanistan, Central Asia, Pakistan and Iran. We are now close to solving the riddle of Kushan art whose craftsmanship, intellectuality and keen sense of the beautiful never ceases to astonish us.

For several decades now scholars have been holding heated debates on the origin and character of Kushan art. The specimens of Kushan art first found in Gandhāra were at the time assessed only from the point of view of ancient Roman tradition, or else regarded as an art purely Buddhistic in content. Specimens of the Mathurā school found in India, the discoveries in Pakistan (Taxila Butkara), in Afghanistan (Begram, Haḍḍa, and the latest in Surkh Kotal), in Soviet Central Asia (Airtam and the recent excavations at Khalchayan and Dalverzin-tepe) radically changed the existing notion on the origin and character of an art as sophisticated and many-faceted as that of the Kushans. Investigations made by D. Schlumberger's expedition in Surkh Kotal revealed the importance of the Iranian and Graeco-Bactrian influence in shaping Kushan art. This idea has now been further confirmed by the discoveries made at Khalchayan and Dalverzin-tepe.

We can assert with complete confidence that different schools and trends existed in Kushan art, and in spite of the fact that very frequently they were linked together, they were independent trends nevertheless. A place apart was held by the Bactrian school whose masterpieces have been discovered in the course of the past few years in North Afghanistan and Soviet Central Asia. It was in Bactria that Kushan art, later to be developed by other schools, originated and took shape.

Soviet archaeological excavations in southern Uzbekistan have shown that as far back as the early Kushan period, that is, before the establishment of the Kushan Empire, the local rulers decorated their palaces and temples with painted clay sculptures, purely local in material and imagery, and yet related to Hellenic art in style and the manner of interpreting certain iconographic ideas.

Bactria in the Kushan period adopted not only the best in ancient Graeco-Roman culture but also elements of Indian artistic traditions. The famous Airtam reliefs, discovered by Soviet archaeologists near Termez, clearly show that the Bactrians were familiar with both Graeco-Roman and Indian sculpture. The art of Bactria and, more broadly, of Central Asian and East Iranian peoples in the Kushan era left its imprint on the art of Mathurā and other parts of ancient India.

Examination of the memorials of the Bactrian and other schools shows that a decisive role in the shaping of Kushan art was played by the local traditions of the peoples of Central Asia, Afghanistan, Iran and India, which became organically merged with the finest traditions of Graeco-Roman art.

This creative assimilation and organic mergence of local and foreign traditions made one of the most typical features of Kushan art.

The local traditions are most pronounced in works of "secular" art, which reflect what the different peoples had contributed to the development of Kushan art. This secular trend compels us to examine more closely the role of local traditions and creeds. In the light of the new excavations in Afghanistan and Central Asia, the traditional attitude to the character of Kushan art as purely Buddhistic must be completely reconsidered.

The new evidence which scholars now have at their disposal poses before us a question of general principle : what place and what importance must be assigned to Kushan culture in the history of Eastern and world culture ? Kushan culture was not a local development, narrowly circumscribed either territorially or chronologically. Founded on the ancient traditions of Central Asia, Afghanistan, Iran, India and Pakistan, and enriched by the achievements of Graeco-Roman culture, it made the basis on which the medieval culture of many peoples of the East developed.

Kushan art, which outlived the Kushan state by a long time, was in the early Middle Ages a source of inspiration for many artists of Central Asia, India and the Far East. Traditions of Kushan art are clearly discernible in the sculpture of the Gupta period in India, in the Sogdian murals and reliefs (Pjanjikent, Varakhsha) and in Eastern Turkistan.

For power of impact, high level of development and originality, Kushan art rather Kushan culture as a whole was remarkable phenomenon in the history of world culture, and rightfully holds a place of honour next to classical Graeco-Roman culture.

Archaeological excavations in Central Asia showed that substantial progress was made in agriculture and irrigation in the Kushan period. There were lush oases where there are wastelands now ; the settlements of land tillers spread further into the highlands, and agricultural measures were developed.

The close historico-cultural ties, established in the Kushan period between the peoples of this vast empire, continued to develop in the subsequent eras. The Kushan contribution to the medieval art of Central Asia, Iran and Afghanistan is particularly important. Scholars still have a number of challenging problems to solve : they have to identify Kushan features in later religious systems of India, in the ethnic history of the modern peoples of North India, West Pakistan, Afghanistan and Soviet Central Asia and in specific elements of their cultures.

It is perfectly clear that the peoples of those countries are the heirs to Kushan culture. The Kushan era is part and parcel of their history. Every decade, every year, brought new information and new evidence. New sciences have come to the assistance of the scholars—and still many riddles remain unsolved. There are more undeciphered than deciphered chapters in the history of the Kushan empire. The question of absolute chronology and origin of the founders of this mighty empire continues to be one of the hardest to solve. A certain measure of progress has unquestionably been made. If we compare the symposiums on the date of Kanishka held in London in 1913 and in 1960, we shall clearly see that we have come closer to solving the cardinal questions of Kushan history.

The recent years, notable for their extremely important discoveries, have been especially heartening. Thanks to the united efforts of researchers in Afghanistan, India, the USSR, Pakistan and Iran, of the French archaeological mission in Afghanistan, of the Italian and Japanese expeditions, and the research conducted in other countries, important materials have been collected on the different aspects of the Central Asian historical and cultural development in the Kushan era. This research must be carried on, the problem of the Kushan era must be more profoundly studied, and I am confident that before long scientists will find the key to the riddle of this remarkable period in world civilisation.

The words of the great Nizami come to mind :

While we're alive and before we've grown old,
What means won't we find to attain our great goal ?

Our goal is to gain a thorough and objective knowledge of Kushan history and the Kushan heritage. This worthy goal still serves the development of science and progress, it will strengthen contacts between scholars. We must popularise this remarkable chapter in the history of the peoples of the East, to promote friendship and cooperation between them.

Today we are turning to the past not just because it evokes our admiration and enriches us, but also because it teaches us, it compels us to regard the present in a new way, and helps us to understand the laws of historical development.

In our day we are most acutely conscious of the grandeur of the Kushan era, a time of close cultural relations and mutual enrichment, a time of nearness between peoples and cultures, a time of peaceful development and progress.

SCIENCE IN CENTRAL ASIA
AND
THE METHODS OF STUDYING IT

A. Asimov

Prof. John Rosenfied, a well-known American investigator of the Kushan period, said : "No integral account of the Kushan state has been found in any traditional source, and the creation of its history is a remarkable achievement of modern scholarship, of a gradual synthetic process of gathering clues from many sources and combining them into an artificial record. The process is far from complete".[1]

So far, almost all main problems of the history of the Kushans,—their origin and language, the problems of their chronology, political history, etc—are debatable and have not yet been definitely interpreted. We all hope they will be solved and advanced as the result of this conference. For those who are studying the ancient history of Central Asia one thing is beyond doubt : the Kushan era was a period of strikingly high development of productive forces and spectacular development of culture.

"The Kushan period," wrote A. H. Dani, "was actually the golden age in the ancient history of West Pakistan".[2] This is applicable in full measure to the history of other peoples who were united in the Kushan Empire.

The Kushan problem has given rise to voluminous literature. In special investigations and summarising works with which we are familiar, as well as in the "History of the Tajik People", the problem of the development of science in Central Asia during the Kushan period is completely disregarded—although its importance is hard to over-estimate. True, in the works of archaeologists some information is found on certain technological methods, including construction methods, but with a few exceptions this information is erratic. Only irrigation in Central Asia in the Kushan period has been investigated comprehensively, thanks primarily to the efforts of S.P. Tolstov and Y.G. Gulyamov.

It should be noted that the investigation of the problem of the history of science in ancient Central Asia is just at its beginning. We do not have any voluminous work (like those of G. Sarton on the Muslim East or J. Needham on China), or even brief studies. Herzfeld's two volumes on *Zoroaster and His World* (1947)[3], while containing a wealth of material and brilliant deductions, rest on a weak philological foundation, as shown by the late W. Henning[4], a prominent authority

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1. J. M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, Berkeley and Los Angels 1967, p. 3.
2. A. H. Dani, *A Short History of Pakistan*, vol. i, Karachi 1967, p. 124.
3. E. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster and His World*, vols. i-ii, Princeton 1947.
4. W. B. Henning, *Zoroaster, Politician or Witchdoctor* ?, Oxford 1951.

on Iranian studies, in his pamphlet-review. E. Herzfeld's work calls for a critical approach in other aspects too.

The absence of special works on the history of science and ideology of ancient Central Asia naturally cannot be attributed to mere chance. It stems from objective factors.

Let us cite Abu'l-Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī: "And Qutaiba killed the people that knew well Khorezmian writing and knew their legends and taught (the sciences) that existed among the Khorezmians; he inflicted on them many torments and (these legends) became so secret that it was impossible to learn for sure what had happened even to the Khorezmians after the rise of Islam".[5]

Here al-Bīrūnī speaks about the Arabian general Qutaiba ibn Muslim who at the beginning of the 8th century conquered not only Khorezm but also Soghd, Ṭukhāristān and Ferghana. Undoubtedly the conquerors acted the same way in all these regions of Central Asia. As a result, the writings of the old Central Asian peoples were mostly destroyed. For this very reason the investigation of the ideology and science of ancient Central Asia is so tremendously difficult. Does this mean that the work on this problem is bound to be fruitless and hopeless? Here is how we see the possible methods of working on this problem.

1. *A. deductive and logical method.* Here the following construction is possible: since the level of material production and cultural development in Central Asia in the Kushan period was exceptionally high, science too must have reached a correspondingly high level of development. In the words of John Bernal, the periods of the growth of science usually coincide with periods of intensification of economic activity and technical progress[6].

2. *Interpolation method.* Its essence is that we are investigating the development of science in the neighbouring countries that were part of the Kushan Empire and also had close historical, cultural and economic relations (for example, North India). As for science in India, it is incomparably better described in the existing sources than science in Central Asia. Taking into consideration the historical situation, it is possible with a certain extent of probability to interpolate this information on Central Asia.

3. *Retrospective method.* Since Central Asia became a major centre of Oriental Science one or two centuries after the Arab conquest, it is perfectly clear that besides the influence of Greeco-Roman science, chiefly through the mediation

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[5] A. Biruni, *Izbrannye proizvedeniya*, I, Tashkent 1957, p. 48.

[6] See J. D. Bernal, *Science in History*, London 1954, *passim.*

of the Arabs, there also must have been a strong Central Asian scientific tradition. Analytic research could therefore be made to establish different sources of Central Asian science in the 9th-12th centuries (similarly to the research of E. Zachau, V. Minorsky and others who brought to light the Indian tradition and strain in the science of the "Muslim" East), and ultimmately its local roots.

The weakness of each of these methods applied to the given problem is obvious but it is highly significant that the study of the problem through each of these methods brings us to the same conclusion about the development of science in ancient and especially in Kushan Central Asia. This, of course, is not fortuitous.

However, it is difficult, and often even impossible, to obtain the facts about the specific forms and the content of science by these methods. We need other means, too. A profound and purposeful analysis of the entire sphere of the ideological life, including religion, seems to be quite promising. As we know, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Manichaeism and other Oriental and Hellenistic (including syncretic) cults were spread in Kushan Central Asia. We cannot dwell on all these cults here ; we shall only touch upon the question of the role of Buddhism in Centraal Asia.

A. M. Belenitsky and B. A. Litvinsky[7] have investigated in detail the question of the spread of Manichaeism and Buddhism in Central Asia.[8] It is quite clear now from written sources and archaeological data that Buddhism in the first centuries A.D., during the Kusan period, spread all over Central Asia. It took especially deep roots in Bactria-Ṭukhāristān where many well-known scientists and theologians came from.

In Central Asia, at least in the south, the Buddhist Vaibhāṣika school was spread. In its gnosiology, the Vaibhāṣika school proceeded from the objective existence of the external world, whose cognition is accomplished by perception thorugh the sense organs. Five constant elements constitute the substance of things. All objects are ultimately reduced to atoms. There is a strong materialistic tendency in the Vaibhāṣika theory of knowledge, which contains elements of dialectics. In the words of Engels, "Dialectical thought, precisely because it presupposes investigation of the nature of the concepts themselves, is only possible

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7. B. A. Litvinsky, *Outline History of Buddhism in Central Asia*, Moscow 1968.
8. Interesting material on the spread of Buddhism in Central Asia and Iran, and on its influence on the ideology of Sufism will be found in *Les origines du soufisme iranien* by Said Naficy (Teheran 1965).

for man, and for him at a comparatively high stage of development (Buddhists and Greeks) and it attains its full development much later still throgh modern philosophy."

In the Soviet literature on the history of philosophy, the philosophy of the Vaibhāṣika school is sometimes regarded as belonging even to the materialist trend (especially in N. P. Anikeev's work on the materialist traditions in Indian philosophy[9]), on the basis of the Vaibhāṣika's solution of the principal question of philosophy, although the inconsistency in the treatment of problems of ontology and gnosiology as well as the religious-idealistic trend of its ethics, is pointed out.

Academician F. I. Shcherbatskoi, a great authority on Buddhist philosophy, stressed the materialistic elements in the Vaibhāṣika teaching and pointed out that in some aspects in was reminiscent of modern materialism.[10] In their book "An Introduction to Indian Philosophy", the Indian scholars S. Chatteriee and D. Datta wrote that the Vaibhāṣikas could be called adherents of immediate realism. At the the same time the Vaibhāṣika teaching represented one of the trends of the Buddhist religion. According to it, the Buddha was an ordinary man who after reaching Nirvāṇa ceased to exist though he possessed a divine element, intuitive cognition of the truth.

All this naturaliy influenced the development of materialist traditions of the local Central Asian ideology.

The spread of Buddhism had another aspect, too. B. A. Litvinsky noted in his "Outline History of Buddhism in Central Asia" that in Central Asia elements of secular Indian science and culture were spreading along with Buddhism. It must be specially emphasised that some 500 years before the spread the stream of Indian culture and science in the Arab Caliphate came the first and rather strong wave in the Kushan period, which considerably influenced the development of science and culture in Central Asia.

Very interesting facts on the Indian monasteries as centres of education—including secular education—are contained in the works of the Indian scientists S. Dutt[11] and R. K. Mookerji.[12] As is known from documents in Kharoṣṭhī from Niya, things were much the same in Eastern Turkistan where along with theology, medicine, grammar and music, the sciences studying the earth, the winds (i.e.

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[9] N. P. Anikeev, *O materialisticheskiakh traditsiakh v indiiskoi filosofii (drevnost'i srednevekov'e)*, Moscow 1965, p. 60-71.

[10] F. I. Shcherbatskoi, *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvana*, Leningrad 1929, pp. 27-29.

[11] S. Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India*, London 1962.

[12] R. K. Mookherjee, *Ancient Indian Education*, London 1951.

meteorology) and the stars (i.e., astronomy) were taught, too. There is no doubt that in Central Asia the Buddhist monasteries carried out similar functions.

We must not, however, exaggerate the Indian influence on Central Asian science in the Kushan period. It is true that along with the Indian conceptions, other scientific conceptions penetrated from other regions into Central Asia (above all, repercussions of the Babylonian and Hellenistic conceptions): there existed a strong local tradition.

Let us[13] illustrate this by one example, the character of astronomic knowledge. People who came from Central Asia are known to have played a leading part in the formation and development of medieval Eastern Arab astronomy.

In the second half of the 9th century a native of Balkh by the name of Abu Ma'shar set off on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Near Baghdad he learned about a rich library. He stayed there and forgot all about his *hadj*; there he studied the science of the stars and was so much absorbed in it that he became an apostate. "It was", as Yāqūt noted with melancholy, "the end of his preoccupation with the *hadj*, with religion and Islam." Abu Ma'shar wrote a large volume named "Zidj-al-hazarat" where he set forth the ideas of Sassanian astronomy, in many aspects based on Indian astronomy. But was it based only on Indian astronomy? One of his contemporaries, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad was engaged in astronomic

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[13] For references to the points presently discussed, see particularly—

a) A. A. Freiman, *Sogdiiskii rukopisnii dokument astrologicheskogo soderzhania* (*kalendar'*),—sec: A. A. Freiman, *Opisanie, publikatsii i issledovanie dokumentov gori Mug*, Moscow 1962, pp. 46-60.

b) I. M. D'yakonov, V. A. Livshits, *Novye nakhodki dokumentov v Staroi Nise*,—"Peredneaziatsky sbornik", vol. ii, L. 1966, p. 154.

c) H. S. Taqizadeh, *Old Iranian Calendars*, London 1938.

d) Koy-Krylgan-Kala—*Pamyatnik kul'tury drevnego Khorezma* (IV v. do n.e.—IV v. n.e.), M 1967, pp. 251-264.

e) B. A. Litvinsky, *Mahadeva i Dutthagamani* (*O machale buddizma v Parfii*)—"Vestnik Drevnei Istorii", 1967, N 3, M., 88-90.

f) G. Haloun and W. B. Henning, *The Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of Light.*—"Asia Major", N. S., London 1952, vol. iii, pt. 2.

g) I. M. D'yakonov, V. A. Livshits, *op.cit.*, p. 154, note 73.

h) E. H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1963, p. 276.

i) M. Boyce, *The Letter of Tansar*, Roma 1968 (Serie Oriental Roma, vol. xxxviii), p. 38.

observations and was making up star-tables in Samarkand ; Abu-I-'Abbas Aḥmad from Ferghana produced a remarkable compendium on astronomy ; Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Hakimī Tirmidhī from Termez wrote a treatise on the calendar system, and the great Central Asian mathematician and astronomer Abū 'Abdallāḥ Muḥammad al-Khwārazmī (first half of the 9th century) made use of this system as well as of the Ptolemaic.

Then the growth of astronomic ideas bagan in medieval Central Asia. Investigators justifiably emphasise that at the outset of the development of astronomy in medieval Central Asia and Iran stood the Middle Persian tables "Ziki Shatroyar" ; the word "zidj" which is used to designate tables is of Middle Persian origin ; the idea current in Arabic geographical literature on the seven climates probably goes back to the Iranian notion of the seven "kiśvars".

Al-Bīrūnī, while telling about the Khorezmian calendar system, says that after Qutaiba ibn Muslim "destroyed the Khorezmain scribes, killed the priests and burnt down all the books and scrolls, the Khorezmians were deprived of their written language and relied on their memory in what they needed". It is therefore evident that the Khorezmains and other Central Asian peoples had apparently works on astronomy. Indeed, one of the Soghdian documents from Mugh Mountain containing astronomical data proved to be a Soghdian calendar. Soghdians and Khorezmains had developed calendar systems very close to each other. There is no doubt that they were known in Bactrian-Ṭukhāristān, too.

Central Asian peoples had rudiments of astronomic knowledge already in the Avesta period. Investigation of the Avesta texts shows that by that time it was possible to speak of an intricate system of knowledge on natural philosophy and cosmogony. Agriculture based on irrigation, the alternation of high water and low water in different seasons in the rivers—the sources of irrigation —all this imperatively demanded the elaboration of a calendar system in Central Asia, as it did in Egypt. All this was impossible without astronomic observations.

The Khorezmian archaeological expedition (under S.P. Tolstov) investigated such a remarkable monument of ancient Khorezmain culture as Koi-Krylgan-kala. S. P. Tolstov and other astronomers suggested that this structure served the purpose of astronomic observations. Indeed it is rather a guess than a sound opinion, but one thing is absolutely clear : Koi-Krylgan-kala, like other relics of that epoch, could be used for astronomic observations.

In 148 An Shih-kao[14], a man from Central Asia, probably from Margiana, came to Eastern Turkistan and began to preach Buddhism there. Recently, B.A. Litvinsky drew attention to the information contained in the sources to the effect that An Shih-kao was also an expert in magic and astrology of the country he came from,[15] i.e., that he was a great scholar specially engaged in astronomy. So now we know the name of a Central Asian astronomer of the period of the Kushan domination.

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[14] We do not know the true name of this learned man. Here we quote his name from Chinese sources.

As noted above, Indian tradition must have greatly influenced Central Asian science in the Kushan period. This concerns astronomy, too. Referring to the works of D. Barnett, L. Renou and G. Thibaut as characteristic on Indian astronomy, we shall note the role which the Manichaean riligion and relevent cosmographic notions played in Central Asia in the second half of the 3rd century. As Henning emphasised in his joint work with Haloun,[16] the system of the world-eras in Eastern Manichaeism (its citadel was Central Asia) was different from the Western one.

Here the last "millennium" had additional centuries—the idea might have been prompted by the Indian *samdhi*, but the addition was realised at the end of the last "millennium", thus connecting the method with Iranian tradition.

In 719 an embassy was sent from Ṭukhāristān to China. This embassy was headed by a Manichaean, "the great Mou-cho". In his credentials it was specially emphasised that he was a man of great sagacity who had an excellent knowledge of astronomy. Consequently, the Central Asian area and specifically Bactria and Ṭukhāristān were one of the sources of astronomic knowledge of Eastern Manichaeism.

Along with Bactrian and Ṭukharian astronomy, Soghdian astronomy reached its zenith, which is graphically borne out by Soghdian documents, the text of al-Bīrūnī and iconographical data, specifically from the excavations of ancient Pjanjikent. In the Sogodian calendar, the name of the third month was borrowed from the Syrian-Macedonian calender.[17] We can add that the Soghdian astronomy influenced the Chinese: Soghdian names for the planets were used in Chinese astronomic works alongside with Indian ones; one of them became solidly incorporated in the Chinese language where it persisted almost to this day (the designation of Sunday as the day of Mihr-Mithra).[18]

The society of Sassanian Iran was divided into four estates. According to *The Letter of Tansar*, physicians, poets and astronomers belonged to the third

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15. B. A. Litvinsky, *op cit.*
16. G. Haloun and W. B. Henning, *The Compendium of the Doctrines and Styles of the Teaching of Mani, the Buddha of light.*—"Asia Major", N. S., London 1952, vol. iii, pt. ii
17. I. M. D'yakonov, V. A. Livshits, *op. cit.*, p. 154, note 73.
18. E. H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1963, p. 276.

estate.[19] In Central Asia poets and astronomers seem to have been equally numerous.

Thus, an examination of the problem with the help of different sources, in an extensive historical and cultural context and against the background of the progress of science in the neighbouring countries of the East, an examination in comparison with the earlier and later traditions warrants the conclusion about the development of high level of astronomy in Kushan Central Asia. The same concerns other branches as well, in particular mathematics, medicine, chemistry.

At the beginning of this report we spoke about the three methods of studying the development of science in Central Asia in the Kushan period. But we have another powerful instrument for investigation, namely, an analysis of the relics of material culture by methods of natural science with resultant conclusions about the level of scientific and technical knowledge and the know-how of the Kushan period. Soviet investigators in this field mostly concerned themselves with medieval data, while the older period was studied very little and sporadically. In our view it is necessary to concentrate efforts on the material of the Kushan epoch as well. Today there are only short studies on Kushan ceramics, building materials and solutions. But it is here that fundamentally new results can be obtained. We can give the following example : the sources give almost no information about the mining of minerals in Kushan Central Asia. There are also very few established mining sites of the Kushan period. However, during the excavation of towns, slags were found and there is also a large collection of metal articles. Spectral analysis on a large scale, a detailed chemical analysis with determination of the micro-elements will enable us to define the sites of the mining of different metals ; using metallographic researches, we can establish the techniques and technology of metal production ; we shall simultaneously receive definite information on the level of geological and chemical knowledge.

Investigation of other categories of material culture will enable us to get a rather broad, though far from all-embracing picture with regard to the level of scientific and technological knowledge. We are also to carry out purposeful researches in the field of Kushan architecture. As is shown in the works of Bulatov[20], who studied the proportions of medieval Central Asian architectural relics, such an analysis might lead to the discovery of mathematical regularities. This or another analogous method can also be applied to the relics of Kushan architecture.

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[19] M. Boyce, *The Letter of Tansar*, Roma 1968, p. 38.

[20] M. S. Bulatov, *O nekotorykh priemakh proportsionirovaniya v arkhitekture Srednei Azii* [On Architecture of Central Asia].—"Izv. otdeleniya obshchestvennykh nauk AN Taj. SSR", N. 3, Stalinobad 1953.

Unfortunately we do not have at our disposal the works of a Central Asian Virsuvius. But investigators today will be able to reconstruct the contents of many chapters of the works of theorists of Central Asian and Kushan architecture, which undoubtedly existed. E.A.Davidovich has shown in her studies on medieval Central Asia[29] that even economic theories can be reconstructed, but to accomplish this we have to do new research (this work has not yet begun) not only on the classification and cultural-historical study of Kushan coins, but also on their historical and economic investigation.

In the report we could outline only in a brief and most general form the trends and prospects of the elaboration of the history of Central Asian science of the Kushan period. But even this very general review shows how promising these investigations can be. On the other hand, already now, when this work is only beginning, we can assert that science in Central Asia in the Kushan period was an important chapter not only in the evolution of Central Asian science but of Oriental science as a whole.

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[29] E. A. Davidovich, *Numizmaticheskie dannye po sotsialno-ekonomicheskoi i politicheskoi istorii Srednei Azii X-XVIII vv. Avtoreferat doktorskoi diss.*, Dushanbe-Moscow, 1964.

CENTRAL ASIA
IN THE
KUSHAN PERIOD

ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES BY SOVIET SCHOLARS

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K. 4/a

Recently an increasing emphasis has been placed on the history and culture of the peoples of Central Asia. These peoples have made a major contribution to the treasury of world civilization. Central Asia was the cradle of one of the most ancient civilizations, a cross-road where the cultures of many Oriental peoples met and mingled. It is here that the answers to many unsolved mysteries of the history and culture of the East should be sought. It is thoroughly gratifying that from now on the cardinal problems underlying the historical and cultural development of this region will be subjected to a more extensive study, and in this respect the new UNESCO project providing for all-out research into the Central Asian civilizations is expected to be highly instrumental. A panel of experts at a meeting held in Paris in April, 1967, discussed the key scientific problems involved and adopted a whole range of important organizational decisions concerning this project. The experts justly pointed to the tremendous significance of studies into the history and archaeology of Central Asia, in the Kushan period, and the Kushan problem was therefore, selected as one of the chief topics of the project.

Lately the interest in the Kushan epoch has gained particular momentum. There appeared quite a few monographs both in the West and in Asia. Archaeological expeditions carried out successful excavations of Kushan monuments in India, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran.

Soviet researchers, too, devote much effort and energy to the problems of the Kushan period. It seems reasonable to delineate the main stages of Soviet archaeological studies into the Kushan period and to bring to light some of the achievements in this field. The latest important discoveries in Central Asia made by Soviet researchers render this task all the more imperative.

Large-scale archaeological research in various areas of Central Asia, which resulted in the discovery of many Kushan monuments, actually started only after the October Revolution. It was initiated 40 years ago by the expedition of the Moscow Museum of Oriental Cultures (now called the State Oriental Art Museum). This expedition, which worked in 1926-1928, was the first important Soviet expedition to Central Asia, and it paved the way for archaeological research in Uzbekistan, particularly in Termez, which was an important centre of Northern Bactria.[1] Of the concrete findings made by the 1926-1928 expedition mention should be made of the Buddhist monuments of Old Termez related, as it has now been established, to the Kushan period—the Zurmala stupa[2] and the Kara-Tepe caves.[3]

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[1] This is exactly the way modern scholars appraise the work of the 1926-28 expedition. See S. P. Tolstov, V. A. Shishkin, *Arkheologiya* [Archaeology],—*in 25 let sovetskoi nauki v Uzbekistane* [Twenty-five Years of Soviet Science in Uzbekistan], Tashkent, 1942, p. 261.

The expedition sponsored by the Museum of Oriental Cultures was followed by a good many others, many of which made valuable contributions to the studies of Central Asia in the Kushan period, i.e., Northern Bactria, Soghd and Khorezm. Chronologically, all these studies clearly fall into two well-defined periods, with World War II serving as a demarcation line.

Among the highlights of the first, pre-war period, are the excavations carried out by M. Y. Masson at the ancient town site of Airtam (east of Termez), following a chance discovery there in 1932 of a remarkable stone relief depicting musicians.[4] The 1933 excavations uncovered the remains of a crude mud brick structure with another seven stone reliefs, sherds of two ganch statues, red-engobe Kushan pottery and a copper coin of King Kanishka.[5] These finds gave an impetus to Kushan studies by Soviet researchers.

The 1933 excavations were followed, as a logical sequel, by broad archaeological excavations in the vicinity of Termez conducted by the Termez Joint Archaeological Expedition. Under the guidance of M. E. Masson the expedition in 1936-1938 carried on the Airtam excavations, studied the history and historical topography of old Termez, excavated a crude Kushan structure on Chinghis-Tepe,

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2. See A. S. Strelkov, *Zurmala ili Katta-Tyupe okolo Termeza* [Zurmala or Katta-Tyupe near Termez], "Kultura Vostoka", I, Moscow, 1927, pp. 27-30. There were certain doubts as to the identification of this monument as a Kushan-time Buddhist stupa, yet the recent investigations of G. A. Pugachenkova corroborated this identification. See : G. A. Pugachenkova, L. I. Rempel', *Istoriya iskusstv Uzbekistana* [History of Uzbek Art], Moscow, 1965, pp. 53-54.
3. See A. S. Strelkov, *Doislamskie pamyatniki Termeza* [Pre-Islamic Monuments in Termez],—"Kultura Vostoka", II, Moscow, 1928, p. 46 (also see A. S. Strelkov, *Les monuments pre-islamiques de Termes*, "Artibus Asiae", 1928-1929, N 4 (1931), p. 223 ; T. V. Grek, E. G. Pchelina, B. Y. Stavisky, *Kara-tepe—buddiiskii peshchernyi monastyr' v Starom Termeze* [Kara-tepe : A Buddhist Cave Monastery in Old Termez], Moscow, 1964, pp. 5, 83.
4. M. E. Masson, *Nakhodka fragmenta skul'pturnogo karniza pervykh vekov n.e.* [Fragment of a Sculptured Friese of the First Centuries A. D.], Tashkent, 1933.
5. M. E. Masson, *Skul'ptura Airtama* [The Sculpture of Airtam], "Iskusstvo" 1935, N 2, pp. 129-134 ; K. V. Trever, *Pamyatniki greko-baktriiskogo iskusstva* [Monuments of Graeco-Bactrian Art], Moscow-Leningrad, 1940, pp. 149-158.

as well as a surface structure and two cave complexes on Kara-Tepe. The expedition also studied the stone details of Kushan architecture.[6]

Simultaneously in 1937 a broad programme was launched of surveying and excavating the ancient monuments of Soghd (including those relating to the Kushan period) : the reconnaissance survey of the Bukhara oasis monuments[7] and the excavations on Tali-Barsu in the vicinity of Samarkand.[8] The former led to the discovery in the sands west of Bukhara of a number of Kushan period settlements; the latter resulted in the development of the first archaeological classification into periods of the culture of ancient Soghd.[9]

In 1937-1939 the Khorezm Expedition, which is one of the best-known Central Asian expeditions, embarked upon field investigations. Before the war this expedition, headed by S. P. Tolstov, after carrying out a large-scale archaeological survey of the "lands of ancient irrigation", developed an archaeological classification of the ancient Khorezmian culture and uncovered a number of settlements related to the Kushan period.[10]

Another pre-war development was an archaeological survey carried out in 1940 on the construction site of the Katta-Kurgan reservoir (in Zeravshan valley,

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6. See *Trudy TAKE*, vol. I *Trudy Uzbekskogo filiala AN SSSR* [Transactions of the Uzbek Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences], series I, fasc. 2, Tashkent, 1941 ; *Trudy TAKE*, vol. II. (series I), Tashkent, 1945.—On the excavations of Kara-tepe : see also E.G. Pchelina, *Nachalo rabot po obsledovaniyu buddiiskogo monastyrya Kara-tepe v Termeze* [The Beginning of Investigations of the Buddhist Monastery of Kara-tepe in Termez],—in T. V. Grek, E. G. Pchelina, B. Y. Stavisky, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-99.
7. V. A. Shishkin, *Arkheologicheskie raboty 1937 g. v zapadnoi chasti Bukharskogo oazisa* [Archaeological Investigations of 1937 in the Western Part of the Bukhara Oasis], Tashkent, 1940 ; V. A. Shishkin, *Arkheologicheskaya razvedka na Bash-tepe* [Archaeological Survey at Bash-tape]. "Trudy IIA AN UzSSR", fasc. VIII, Tashkent,. 1956. pp. 163-172.
8. G. V. Grigor'ev, *Gorodishche Tali-Barzu* [The Town Site of Tali-Barzu], "TOVE", vol. II. Leningrad, 1940, pp. 87-104 ; G. V. Grigor'ev, *Poseleniya drevnego Sogda* [The Settlements of Ancient Soghd], "KSIIMK", VI, 1940, pp. 24-34 ; G. V. Grigor'ev, *Tali-Barzu kak pamyatnik domusulmanskogo Sogda* [Tali-Barzu : A Monument of Pre-Islamic Soghd], "KSIIMK", XIII, 1946, pp.150-153.
9. See B. Y. Stavisky, *O datirovke rannykh sloev Tali-Barzu* [The Dating of the Early Strata of Tali-Barzu], SA, 1967, N 2, pp. 22-28.
10. S. P. Tolstov, *Drevnii Khorezm* [Ancient Khorezm], Moscow, 1948 ; also see *Trudy KhE* [Transactions of the Khorezmian Expedition], vol. I, Moscow, 1952, pp. 611 ff.

halfway between Samarkand and Bukhara) which resulted in the discovery of the first Soghdian burial mounds of the Kushan period.[11] Also found were some high-quality pieces of pottery related to the Kushan and late Kushan period.[12]

On the whole the pre-war researches conducted by Soviet archaeologists in Central Asia were characterized not only by the discoveries of settlements, burial mounds and separate artifacts of the Kushan period in Northern Bactria, Soghd and Khorezm but also by excavations of some of the sites and, which is no less important, by the first attempts to determine the place of the Kushan monuments as well as the Kushan period in general in the history of the culture and arts of the ancient peoples of Central Asia.[13]

Yet, however great the successes of the 1933-1940 expeditions in studying the ancient monuments of Central Asia, they pale before the discoveries and findings made after the war, when every year work in the field has yielded new valuable materials on the history, culture and art of the ancient Central Asian territories, including Northern Bactria, Soghd and Khorezm. Archaeological work in all the three areas interrupted by the war, was resumed as early as 1945-1946.

In 1945 S. P. Tolstov's expedition started systematic excavations in Khorezm on Toprak-Kala. These excavations lasted until 1950 and uncovered a magnificent three-tower palace dating from the 3rd-early 4th centuries with palatial chambers and living quarters, adorned with clay sculpture and murals. Besides, numerous household articles and weapons were found and, which is most important, the first archive in the hitherto almost unknown Khorezmian language.[14] Along with the

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[11] V. A. Shishkin, *Arkheologicheskie nablyudeniya na stroitel' stve Katta-Kurganskogo vodokhranilishcha* [Archaeological Observations on the Building Site of the Katt-Kurgan Reservoir], "Izvestiya Uzbfil. AN SSSR" [Bulletin of the Uzbek Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences], 1940, N 10, pp. 19-24.

[12] See T. N. Knipovich, *Nekotorye voprosy datirovki sredneaziatskoi keramiki domusulmanskogo perioda* [Certain Problems of the Dating of Central Asian Ceramics of the Pre-Muslim Period], "KSIIMK", XXVIII, Moscow-Leningrad, 1949, p. 76. The dating of the Tali-Barzu and Katta-Kurgan materials suggested by this author has been revised.

[13] See, for instance, S. P. Tolstov, *Osnovnye voprosy drevnei istorii Srednei Azii* [The Basic Problems of the Ancient History of Central Asia], "VDI", 1938, N 1, pp. 186-187.

[14] S. P. Tolstov, *Po sledam drevnekhorezmiiskoi tsivilizatsii* [Tracing the Ancient Khorezmian Civilization], pp. 164-190 ; *Trudy KhE*, vol. I, pp. 7-86, 119-134 ; *Trudy KhE*, vol. II, pp. 195-216 ; S. P. Tolstov, *Po drevnim deltam Oksa i Yaksarta* [The Old Deltas of the Oxus and the Yaxartes], Moscow, 1962, pp. 204-226.

Toprak-Kala palace excavations which lasted several years, the Khorezmian Expedition carried on extensive prospecting. It also studied the Khorezmian irrigation system of different periods, including the Kushan structures[15] and excavated a number of monuments among which one should single out Koy-Krylgan-Kala, whose upper stratum has provided materials related to the Kushan period,[16] and Gyaur-kala with structures of the 2nd-3rd centuries A. D. and interesting clay sculpture.[17]

In Soghd, A. I. Terenozhkin from the autumn of 1945 till 1949 conducted systematic research into the stratigraphy of the immense ancient town site of Samarkand, Afrasiab. This work resulted in the discovery of numerous relics of the daily life of the ancient Soghdians. The finds served to correct and largely complement G. V. Grigor'ev's conclusions and proved instrumental in working out a chronological classification of the culture of Soghd and Chach (what is now Tashkent),[18] the system which to this day has retained its basic significance. A. I. Terenozhkin's research was followed on Afrasiab by a major expedition of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek SSR. In the course of its work this expedition, which started operations in 1958, studied strata and structures related to different periods, including the Kushan period.[19]

In 1947 archaeological activities were resumed in the Bukhara area as well.

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15. *Trudy KhE*, vol. II, pp. 100-116, 311-328 ; S. P. Tolstov, *Po drevnim deltam Oksa i Yaksarta*, pp. 89-96.
16. *Koy-Krylgan-kala pamyatnik kultury drevnego Khorezma* (IV v, do n.e.—IV v.n.e.) [Koy-Krylgan-kala : A Monument of the Culture of Ancient Khorezm (4th Century B. C.-4th Century A. D.)] Moscow, 1967.
17. *Trudy KhE*, vol. II, pp. 192-195, pp. 347-366.
18. A. I. Terenozhkin, *Sogd i Chach* (Soghd and Chach), "KSIIMK", fasc. 33, 1950, pp. 152-169 ; A. I. Terenozhkin, *Roskopki na gorodishche Afrasiabe* [Excavations on the Site of Afrasiab], "KSIIMK", fasc. 36, 1951, pp. 136-140.
19. See V. A. Shishkin, *Uzbekistanskaya arkheologicheskaya ekspeditsiya AN UzSSR* (Polevye raboty 1956-1959 gg). [The Uzbekistan Archaeological Expedition of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences. Field Work in 1956-1959], "IMKUz", fasc. 2, Tashkent, 1961, pp. 36-43 ; V. A. Shishkin, *Polevye raboty Uzbekskoi arkheologicheskoi ekspeditsii v 1960 g*. [Field Work of the Uzbek. Archaeological Expedition in 1960]. "IMKUz" fasc. 3, Tashkent, 1962, pp. 9-12 ; V. A. Shishkin, *Uzbekistanskaya arkheologicheskaya ekspeditsiya 1961 g*. [The Uzbekistan Archaeological Expedition of 1961]. "IMKUz", fasc. 4, Tashkent, 1963, pp. 11-18 ;

Here on the Varakhsha site, along with systematic excavations of a palace of the early medieval Bukhara rulers, studies were made of the stratigraphy of the town site which the excavations showed to have sprung up in Kushan times. Apart from Varakhsha, the Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences' expedition, headed by V. A. Shishkin and later by Y. G. Gulyamov, studied the history of irrigation and excavated a few small monuments of the Kushan period.[20]

In 1946 the Upper-Zeravshan group of a large Soghdian-Tajik (later Tajik) archaeological expedition of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Academy of Sciences of the Tajik SSR and the State Hermitage Museum started operations in the upper reaches of the Zeravshan River, east of Samarkand. The head of the expedition, A. Y. Yakubovsky, in 1946 took over the Upper-Zeravshan group, whose work laid the ground-work of the systematic archaeological survey of the Upper Zeravshan valley.[21] Later on these activities were continued with the result that in the upper reaches of the Zeravshan numerous archaeological monuments were discovered, settlements and burial mounds of the Kushan period among them.[22]

V. A. Shishkin, *Nekotorye itogi arkheologicheskikh rabot v Uzbekistane v 1962-1963 gg.* [Some Results of the Archaeological Investigations in Uzbekistan, 1962-1963]. "Obshchestvennye nauki v Uzbekistane", 1964, N 12, pp. 20-25 ; V. A. Shishkin, *Afrasiab-sokrovishchnitsa drevnei kultury* [Afrasiab : Treasury of Ancient Culture]. Tashkent, 1966, pp. 8-10 ; S. K. Kabanov, *Areal i evolyutsiya dvukh drevnikh keramicheskikh form* [The area and Evolution of Two Ancient Ceramic Forms], "SA", 1964, N 3, pp. 79-87.

[20] See *Trudy IIA ANUz SSR* [Transactions of the Institute of History and Archaeology of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences], fasc. VIII, Tashkent, 1956 ; V. A. Shishkin, *Varakhsha*, Moscow, 1963 ; V. A. Nilsen, *Kyzyl-Kyr*, "IMKUz", fasc. I, Tashkent, 1959, pp. 60-78 ; O. V. Obelchenko, *K voprosu o vremeni vozvedeniya steny Bukharskogo oazisa Kampyr-duvala* [The Date of the Wall of the Bukhara Oasis of Kampyr-duval]. "Trudy SAGU", fasc. 172, Tashkent, 1960, pp. 11-31.

[21] See A. Y. Yakubovsky, *Itogi rabot Sogdiiko-Tadzhikskoi arkheologicheskoi ekspeditsii v 1946-1947 gg.* [Results of the Work of the Soghdian-Tajik [Archaeological Exepedition in 1946-1947]. "MIA SSSR", N 15, Moscow-Leningrad, 1950, pp. 13-28.

[22] See A. M. Mandel'shtam, *Mogil'nik v s. Zosun (verkhovya r. Zeravshan)* The Burial Site in Zosun Village, Upper Zaravshan], "Izv. Otdeleniya Obshchestvennykh nauk AN Tadzh. SSR", fasc. 2 (40), 1965, pp. 29-44 ; B. Y. Stavisky. *Osnovnye etapy osvoeniya zemledel'cheskim naseleniyem gornykh raionov verkhnego Zeravshana (Kukhistana)* [The Main Stages in the Settlement of the Highland Districts of the Upper Zaravshan

The investigations on Afrasiab, on sites in the upper reaches of the Zeravshan and in the Bukhara area were supplemented by archaeological prospecting and excavations in the south of Soghd—in the Kashka Darya valley, where along with medieval monuments, Kushan monuments were likewise studied.[23] Interesting objects (including Kushan coins) were found during the survey excavations in Chardzhou, at the juncture of roads running from Bactria to Khorezm and from

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(Kukhistan) by the Farming Population], "Materialy po etnografii (Geograficheskoe obshchestvo SSSR)" fasc. I, Leningrad, 1961, pp. 38-49; B. Y. Stavisky, *Raboty Magianskoy Gruppy v 1961 godu* [The Work of the Magian Group in 1961], "Trudy II AN Tadzh. SSR", vol. XII, 1964, pp. 127-130.

23. A. I. Terenozhkin, *Arkheologicheskaya rekognostsirovka v zapadnoi chasti Uzbekistana* [Archaeological Survey in the Western Part of Uzbekistan], "VDI", 1947, N 2, pp. 185-190 ; S. K. Kabnov, *Arkheologicheskie raboty 1948 g. v Karshinskom oazise* [Archaeological Work in 1948 in Karshi Oasis], "Trudy IIA AN Uz. SSR", vol. II, Tashkent, 1950, pp. 82-134 ; S. K. Kabanov, *Arkheologicheskiye razvedki v verkhnei chasti doliny Kashkadaryi* [Archaeological Survey in the Upper Kashka Darya Valley]. "Trudy IIA AN Uz, SSR", fasc. 7, Tashkent, 1955, pp. 77-114 ; S. K. Kabanov, *Arkheologicheskie dannye po istorii Nakhsheba v III-V vv.* [Archaeological Data on the History of Nakhsheb in the 3rd-5th Centuries], "VDI", 1956, N 2, pp. 163-171 ; S. K. Kabanov, *Keramicheskii kompleks iz nasloenii drevnego gorodishcha v Kitabe* [The Pottery from the Ancient Town Site of Kitab], "IMKUz", fasc. 3, Tashkent, 1962, pp. 42-53 ; S. K. Kabanov, *Arkheologicheskie dannye k etnicheskoi istorii yuzhnogo Sogda v III-VI vv.* [Archaeological Data on the Ethnic History of Southern Soghd in the 3rd-4th Centuries], "SA", 1963, No 1, pp. 219-230 ; S. K. Kabanov, *Raskopki na Shor-tepe bliz Karshi v 1952-1953 gg.* [Excavations at Shor-tepe Near Karshi in 1952-1953], "IMKUz", fasc. 5, Tashkent, 1964, pp. 70-89 ; S. K. Kabanov, *Ruiny poseleniya III-V vv. v doline Kashkadaryi* [The Ruins of the Settlement of the 3rd-5th Centuries in the Kashka-Darya Valley], "IMKUz", fasc. 6, Tashkent, 1965, pp. 71-86 ; V. D. Zhukov, *Arkheologicheskaya razvedka Kindaklitepa* [The Archaeological Survey of Kindaklitepa], "IMKUz", fasc. 7, Tashkent, 1966, pp. 91-103 ; S. K. Kabanov, K. A. Shakhurin, *Arkheologicheskaya razvedka v verkhovyakh r. Kashkadarya* [Archaeological Survey on the Upper Kashka Darya], ibid., pp. 112-124,

Soghd to Merv, Parthia and Iran, close to one of the most important Amu Darya river crossings.[24]

Large-scale excavations of burial mounds in the middle and lower parts of the Zeravshan valley, started in 1952, made a very significant contribution to the studies of Soghd and the whole of Central Asia in the Kushan period.[25]

In postwar years the archaeological studies of Kushan monuments were particularly extensive in Northern Bactria. As far back as 1946 in its eastern part, on the territory of what is now Southern Tajikistan, broad reconnaissance surveys were carried out in the Vakhsh and Kafirnigan river valleys;[26] in the same year excavations were started of the Tup-khona burial-ground, in the vicinity of Hissar (south-west of Dushanbe). The excavations of this burial-ground, which belonged to the agricultural population of Northern Bactria of the early Kushan period, along with the 1950-1951 excavations of the multistratum settlements of Kalai-Mir

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24. G. E. Trapeznikov, *Corodishche drvnego Chardzhou* (*Amul*) [The Town Site of Ancient Chardzhou (Amul)], "SA", 1957, No. 4, pp. 161-163; G. E. Trapeznikov, *Materialy s gorodishcha drevnego Chardzhou* (*Amulya*) [Material from the Town Site of Ancient Chardzhou (Amul), "SA", 1954, N 1, pp. 261-273. Cf. M. E. Masson, *Srednevekovye torgoviye puti iz Merva v Khorezm i v Maverannakhr* [The Trade Routes from Merv to Khorezm and Mavara al-Nahr in the Middle Ages], Ashkhabad, 1966, pp. 144-149.

25. O. V. Obelchenko, *Kuyu-Mazarsky mogil'nik* [The Necropolis of Kuyu-Mazar], "Trudy IIA AN Uz. SSR", fasc. VIII, Tashkent, 1956, pp. 205-227; O. V. Obelchenko, *Kurgannye pogrebeniya pervykh vekov n.e. i kenotafy Kuyu-Mazarskogo mogil'nika* [The Kurgan Burials of the First Centuries A. D. and the Cenotaphs of the Kuyu-Mazar Necropolis], "Trudy SAGU", fasc. CXI, Tashkent, 1957, pp. 109-132; O. V. Obelchenko, *Lyavandaksky mogil'nik* [The Lyavandak Burial Site], "IMKUz, fasc. 2, Tashkent, 1961, pp. 97-176; O. V. Obelchenko, *Mogil'nik Akdzhar-tepe* [The Akdzhar-tepe Necropolis], "IMKUz", fasc. 3, Tashkent, 1962, pp. 57-70; O. V. Obelchenko, *Kurgany okolo sel. Khazara* [The Kurgans near the Village of Khazara] "IMKUz", fasc. 4, Tashkent, 1963, pp. 57-65; O. V. Obelchenko, *Sazaganskiye kurgany* [The Kurgans Sazagan], "IMKUz", fasc. 7, Tashkent, 1966, pp. 66-81. Also see V. A. Shishkin, *Uzbekistanskaya arkheologicheskaya ekspeditsiya 1961 g.* [The Uzbekistan Archaeological Expedition of 1961], "IMKUz", fasc. 4, Tashkent, 1963, p. 21; V. Y. Zezenkova, *Kraniologicheskii material iz mogil'nikov Bukharskoi oblasti* [Craniological Finds from the Burials in Bukhara Region], ibid., pp. 66-72.

26. See MIA SSSR, N 15, Moscow-Leningrad, 1950, pp. 128-139, 147-186.

and Key-Kobad-shah (in the Kafirnigan valley) were used by M. M. Dyakonov in developing an archaeological time-scale of the culture of Northern Bactria and also for characterizing the culture of this region in the Kushan period.[27] The excavations on Key-Kobad-shah, Munchak-Tepe and two small settlements in the Kafirnigan valley were a sequel to the above works. The latter excavations were conducted under the guidance of A. M. Mandelshtam who corrected and specified M. M. Dyakonov's classification.[28] It was this same researcher who, beginning with 1955, carried out very important systematic excavations of the burial mounds in the Bishkent valley (on the left bank of the Kafirnigan), later supplemented by his own excavations in Northern Bactria (Uzbekistan and Turkmenia).[29]

A number of monuments and finds related to the Kushan period were discovered in the Hissar and Vakhsh valleys by B. A. Litvinsky, Y. A. Davidovich. E. Gulyamova, T. I. Zeymal, Y. V. Zeymal and A. M. Mukhtarov. These are large and small settlements, Kushan strata in multistrata sites related to different periods, remains of monumental structures with stone column bases, burial-grounds, coins and artifacts of the Kushan period and, finally, traces of ancient irrigation systems.[30]

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[27] M. M. D'yakonov, *Arkheologicheskie raboty v nizhnem techenii reki Kafirnigana (Kobadian) (1950-1951 gg)*. [Archaeological Investigations in the Lower Reaches of the Kafirnigan (Kobadian), 1950-1951], MIA SSSR, No 37, Moscow-Leningrad, 1953, pp. 279-292.

[28] A. M. Mandelshtam, S. B. Pevzner, *Raboty Kafirniganskogo otryada v 1952-1953 gg.* [The Work of the Kafirnigan Group in 1952-1953], "MIA SSSR", N 66, Moscow-Leningrad, pp. 290-342.

[29] See A. M. Mandelshtam, *Kochevniki na puti v Indiyu* [Nomads on Their Way to India], "MIA SSSR", No 136, Moscow-Leningrad, 1966 ; A. M. Mandelshtam, *Arkheologicheskie raboty v Bishkentskoi doline v 1957 g.* [Archaeological Investigations in the Bishkent Valley in 1957], "Trudy AN Tadzh, SSR", vol. CIII, 1959, pp. 131-151 ; A. M. Mandelshtam, *Mogil'nik Aruk-Tau v Bishkentskoi doline* [The Aruk-Tau Necropolis in the Bishkent Valley] "KSIIMK", fasc. 76, 1959, pp. 73-82 ; A. M. Mandelshtam, *K istorii Baktrii-Tokharistana* [On the History of Bactria-Tukharistan], "KSIA", fasc. 98, pp. 25-30 ; A. M. Mandelshtam, *K voprosu ob osobennostyakh raspolozheniya pamyatnikov kochevogo naseleniya v Severnoi Baktrii* [The Problem of the Specific Location of the Relics of the Nomad Population in Northern Bactria], "Soobshcheniya Respublikanskogo Muzeya Tadzh. SSR", fasc. 4, 1966, pp. 22-28.

[30] B. A. Litvinsky, E. A. Davidovich, *Predvaritel'nyi otchet o rabotakh Khuttalskogo otryada na territorii Vakhshskoi doliny v 1953 godu* [Preliminary Report on the Work of the Khuttal Group on the Territory of the

Starting from 1948 an archaeological group headed by L.I. Albaum carried out large-scale prospecting and excavations of sites belonging to different periods in Southern Uzbekistan, in the Surkhan Darya region. This team can be credited with quite a number of extremely interesting finds of the Kushan period (towns, fortresses and castles). Along with pottery, terracotta figurines of humans and animals were discovered. Also found were Kushan coins. For the first time in

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Vakhsh Valley in 1953], "Doklady AN Tadzh. SSR", fasc. II, 1954, pp. 53-60 ; B. A. Litvinsky, Predvaritel'nyi otchet o rabotakh Khuttalskogo otryada v 1954 godu [Preliminary Report on the Work of the Khuttal Group in 1954], "Trudy AN Tadzh. SSR", vol. XXXVI, 1956, pp. 77-88 ; B. A. Litvinsky, *Ob arkheologicheskikh rabotakh v Vakhshskoi doline i v Isfarinskom raione* [On Archaeological Investigations in the Vakhsh Valley and the Isfara Destrict], "KSIIMK", fasc. 64, 1956, pp. 68-76 ; E. A. Davidovich, *O rabotakh Gissarskogo otryada v 1955 g.* [The Work of the Gissar Group in 1955], "Trudy AN Tadzh. SSR", vol. XIII, 1956, pp. 75-86 ; B. A. Litvinsky, Z. Gulyamova, T. I. Zeymal, *Raboty otryada po sboru materialov dlya sostavleniya arkheologicheskoi karty* (*1956 g.*) [Collecting Material for an Archeological Map (1956)], "Trudy AN Tadzh. SSR", vol. XCI, 1959, pp. 129-152 ; E. Gulyamova, *Raskopki na Dyushanbinskom nekropole* [Excavations of the Dushanbe Necropolis], "Soobshcheniya Respublikanskogo Istoriko-Kraevedcheskogo muzeya Tadzh. SSR", fasc. 3, 1953, pp. 30-34 ; B. A. Litvinsky, *Predmety iz pogrebeniya na Stalinabadskikh kholmakh* [Objects Found in the Burial on the Stalinbad Hills], ibid., pp. 35-49 ; T. I. Zeymal, *Raboty Vakhshskoi gruppy Khuttalskogo otryada v 1957 g.* [The Work of the Vakhsh Group of the Khuttal Expedition in 1957], "Trudy AN Tadzh. SSR", vol. CIII, 1959, pp. 83-93 ; T. I. Zeymal, *Antichnoe poselenie v urochishche Khalkadzhar* [Ancient Settlement in Khalkadzhar], "Trudy II AN Tadzh. SSR", vol. XXVII, 1961, pp. 159-166 ; E. V. Zeymal, *Arkheologicheskiye raboty v Gissarskoi doline* [Archeological Work in the Gissar Valley], ibid., pp. 121-136 ; B. A. Litvinsky, T. I. Zeymal, *Vazy iz Vakhshskoi doliny* [Vases from the Vakhsh Valley], "Izvestiya AN Tadzh. SSR", No 1 (22). 1960, pp. 73-79 ; T. I. Zeymal, *Razvedyvatel'niye raboty v Vakhshskoi doline v 1959 g.* [Survey Work in the Vakhsh Valley in 1959], "Trudy II AN Tadzh. SSR", vol. XXXI. 1961, pp. 143-152 ; B. A. Litvinsky, *Arkheologicheskiye otkrytiya v Tadzhikistane za gody sovetskoi vlasti i nekotoriye problemy drevnei istorii Srednei Azii*, [Archaeological Discoveries in Tajikistan in the Soviet Period and some Problems of the Ancient History of Central Asia], VDI, 1967, N 4, pp. 134-136.

Central Asian excavations a Roman coin of Emperor Nero was discovered.[31] An expedition of the Institute of Art Studies of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, led by G. A. Pugachenkova, produced very good results. The greatest accomplishment of this expedition, which operated in the same Surkhan Darya region, was the excavation in 1959-1963 of a small crude structure with fragments of murals and magnificent clay sculpture in Khalchayan.[32] It should be noted that apart from the Khalchayan excavations, the said expedition has been prospecting and excavating in different places in the Surkhan Darya region with particular emphasis on Kushan sites. In 1967 this expedition made another important discovery—near the Dalverzin-Tepe town site a Kushan Buddhist temple was found with remarkable clay sculpture depicting not only the Buddha but also local rulers and nobles.

There is also a joint archaeological expedition of the State Hermitage Museum, the State Museum of Oriental Art and the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, which has been working in the Surkhan Darya region since 1961 parallel to the Uzbek research. This expedition, headed by B. Y. Stavisky, continued research into the Kushan Buddhist structures on Kara-Tepe hill in Old Termez and found a number of cave and surface temples, fragmentary stone reliefs and ganch statues, objects of the Buddhist cult, Kushan coins and inscriptions in the Indian Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī alphabets as well as in the so-called Kushan script, i.e., the Greek alphabet adjusted to convey the local language of Kushan Bactria.[33]

This is the brief history of the archaeological studies in Central Asia of the Kushan period carried out by Soviet scholars. The primary result of these studies is the discovery of extensive and varied materials which form a very solid basis for source studies. These sources are traces of canals and scores of town sites and other settlements, hundreds of burial mounds and burial-grounds, numerous household objects and artifacts, imported items and local imitations of foreign artifacts,[34] a few gem-seals [35] and vast numismatic collections,[36] and finally, inscriptions in the Khorezmian and Soghdian, Bactrian and Indian languages.

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[31] L. I. Albaum, *Balalyk-Tepe*, Tashkent, 1960 ; L. I. Albaum, *Gorodishche Dalverzin-tepa* [The Town Site of Dalverzin-tepa], "IMKUz", fasc. 7, Tashkent, 1966, pp. 47-65 ; V. D. Zhukov, *Arkheologicheskaya razvedka na shakhristane Khairabad-tepe* [Archaeolgical Survey at Khairabad-tepe], IMKUz, fasc. 2, Tashkent, 1961, pp. 177-191 ; V. A. Nilsen, *Teshiktepe bliz Angora* [Teshik-tepe near Angor], IMKUz, fasc. 5, Tashkent, 1964, pp. 57-66.

[32] See G. A. Pugachenkova, *Khalchayan*, Tashkent, 1966.

[33] See T. V. Grek, E. G. Pchelina, B. Y. Stavisky, *op. cit.* ; E. G. Pchelina, B. Y. Stavisky, *Kara-tepe : Remains of a Buddhist Monastery of the Kushan Period in Old Termez*, "Indo-Asian Studies", pt I. 1963 ; B. Y. Stavisky, J. Harmatta, V. A. Livshits, V. G. Lukonin, V. A. Meshkeris, *Buddiiskie peshchery Kara-tepe v Starom Termeze* [The Buddhist Caves of Kara-tepe in Old Termez] (in press).

The abundance of these materials has enabled Soviet scholars to bring to light and solve many important aspects of the Kushan problem, such as, for instance, the matter of the nomadic conquerors who crushed the Graeco-Bactrian rulers and gave rise to the Kushan Kingdom ; of the cultural and artistic standards of Central Asia in the Kushan period, its religion, languages and scripts, of its international cultural ties, of the "Gandhāran art" and its place in the history of the arts in Central Asia in the subsequent period, etc. Special attention is drawn to one of the most complicated problems—the chronology of the Kushan rulers.[37]

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[34] See B. Y. Stavisky, *Srednaya Aziya, India Rim (k voprosu o mezhdunarodnykh svyazyakh v kushanskii period)*, [Central Asia, India, Rome : International Contacts in the Kushan Period],—in : *Indiya v drevnosti* [India in Ancient Times], Moscow, 1964, pp. 166-187 ; V. M. Masson, *Arkheologicheskie pamyatniki Srednei Azii i greko-rimskie vliyaniya i svyazi* [Archaeological Sites of Central Asia and the Graeco-Roman Influences and Links]; Attide convegno sul dema : La Persia e il Mondo Greco-Romano (Roma 11-14 aprile 1965) (Academie Nazionale dei Lincei, anno CCCLXIII, Roma, 1966, pp. 335-356).

[35] See B. Y. Stavisky, *Notes on gem-seals with Kushana cursive inscriptions in the collection of the State Hermitage*, "Journal of Numismatic Society of India", vol. XII (1960), Banaras, 1961, pp. 102-108 ; Addenda and Corrigenda, ibid vol. XXIII, 1961, Beneras, 1962, pp. 513-514.

[36] See M. E. Masson, *Proiskhozhdenie bezymyannogo tsarya tsarei—velikogo spasitelya* [The Origin of the Nameless King of Kings, the Great Saviour], "Trudy SAGU", fasc. II, Tashkent, 1950, pp. 11-49 ; E. V. Zeymal, *Kushanskie monety iz sobraniya Instituta istorii, arkheologii i etnografii AN Tadzhikiskoi SSR* [Kushan Coins from the Collection of the Institute of History, Archaeology and Ethnography of the Tajik Academy of Sciences], "Izvestiya otdeleniya obshchestvennykh nauk AN Tadzh. SSR", fasc. I (22), 1960, pp. 115-128 ; E. V. Zeymal, *Monety Velikikh Kushan v Gosudarstvennom Ermitazhe* [The Coins of the Great Kushans in the State Hermitage Museum], "Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha", vol. IX, Leningrad, 1967, pp. 55-86 ; S. P. Tolstov, *Datirovannye dokumenty iz dvortsa Toprak-kala i problema "ery shaka" i "ery Kanishki"* [Dated Documents from the Toprak-kala Palace and the Problem of the "Shaka Era" and the "Kanishka Era"], "Problemy Vostokovedeniya", 1961, N 3, pp. 54-71 ; cf. S. P. Tolstov, *Dated Documents from the Toprak-kala Palace and the Problem of the Saka Era and the Kanishka Era*, "Bibliotheca Orientalis", Leiden, XX, 1963, N 5-6 pp. 229-238. V. M. Masson, *Denezhnoe khozyaistvo drevnei Srednei Azii po numizmaticheskim dannym* [The Money Economy of Ancient Central Asia according to Numismatic Data], "VDI", 1955, N 2, pp. 37-47.

Uutil recently, information about the monad tribes that put an end to Greek rule in inland Asia was based only on the fragmentary and often contradictory testimony of foreign written sources. On the basis of these sources different scholars had extremely differing ideas as to the geography of the various nomad tribes on the map of Asia. It seemed as though there would be no end to the disputes about these tribes. Yet the archaeological studies by Soviet scholars in Central Asia and, first and foremost, A. N. Bernshtam's expedition to Southern Kazakhstan and Northern Kirghizia and S. P. Tolstov's to the lower reaches of the Syr Darya, provided enough geographical evidence as to the territorial distribution of the ancient nomads and their burial-grounds, to pin-point, for the first time, their geographical location.[38]

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[37] See, for instance, works by S. P. Tolstov and E. V. Zeimal on the "Date of Kanishka" and Kushan chronology. See *Datirovannye dokumenty iz dvortsa Toprak-kala i problems 'ery Shaka' i ery Kanishki*, "Problemy Vostokovedeniya", 1961, N 21, pp. 54-71. S. P. Tolstov, made an ingenious, but regrettably insufficiently convincing, attempt to identify the Saka Era (78 A.D.) with the "Kanishka Era" on the basis of the Toprak-Kala evidence. E. V. Zeymal, "*Problema kushankoi khronologii i monety*" [The Problem of Kushan Chronology and Coins], "Tezisy dokladov na yubileinoi nauchnoi sessii (Sektsionniye zasedaniya). Gosudarstvennyi Ermitazh 1764-1964", Lehingrad, 1964, pp. 40-46. He suggested that the "Kanishka Era" be reckoned from the beginning of the year 200 of the "Saka Era", i.e. the year 278 A. D., thereby coming back to the hypothesis of the Indian scholar R. D. Bhandarkar.

[38] See A. N. Bernshtam, *Istoriko-arkheologicheskie ocherki Tian-Shanya i Pamiro-Alaya* [Historico-Archaeological Survey of the Tien-Shan and Pamir-Alais], "MIA SSSR", N. 26, Moscow-Leningrad, 1952 ; S. P. Tolstov, *Po sledam drevnekhorezmiiskoi tsivilizatsii*, Moscow, 1948 ; S. P. Tolstov, *Priaralskie skify i Khorezm* [The Aral Scythians and Khorezm], "SE", 1961, N 4 (De Scythes de l'aral et le Khorezm, Iranica Antiqua, vol. I, Leiden, 1961) ; S. P. Tolstov, *Po drevnim deltam Oksa i Yaksarta*, Moscow, 1962, pp. 136-203.

It became possible now to draw boundary-lines marking the areas inhabited by two large groups of steppe tribes of Northern Central Asia—the Sakas of the Seven-River region and the adjacent mountain pastures and the Scythian-Massagetae tribes of the lower Syr Darya and the rural areas. Moreover, work has begun on delineation of individual tribes or tribal confederations. Scientifically, it is very important to collate the available data on the nomads of the 3rd-1st centuries B.C. with the burial mounds found in Soghd and Northern Bactria. O. V. Obelchenko has pointed out the big role played in the 3rd-1st centuries B.C. by the tribes of the "Sarmatian circle" (he bases his conclusion on the similarity of the funeral rites and the inventory of the burial mounds in Soghd with the burial-grounds of the Sarmatian tribes in Kazakhstan and the Volga region). Similarly, A. M. Mandelshtam has traced Sarmatian characteristics in the burials in Turkmenistan and Southern Tajikistan. On the basis of the distribution and nature of nomad monuments in Northern Bactria, he has also made a number of valuable conclusions as to the presence in this area of nomads in the pre-Kushan and early Kushan periods. A broad archaeological survey of Northern Bactria shows that there were several large burial mounds here, all of them well outside the cultivated land plots and, in general, at some distance from the agricultural oases. The logical conclusion, therefore, is that the nomad newcomers, far from trying to undermine the economy of the local peasants, on the contrary, attempted to spare the fields the damage they would have inevitably incurred on account of the immediate proximity of large masses of nomads and their herds. The location of large burial mounds near the Amu Darya, which was the watershed between Northern and Southern Bactria, and in addition, between the major river-crossings —the Kerki and Kelif, Termez and Aivadj—leads one to assert that large groups of nomads were aligned in such a way as to be within easy reach of these vantage river-crossings in case of a contingency. This is how archaeology describes the life of the nomad tribes in Northern Bactria. As further corroborated by the written sources, they appear not as transitory strangers, plunderers of agricultural oases, but rather as tribes that came to stay for good on the subjugated lands, that had a concern in the economic prosperity of the local population and were prepared to defend, arms in hand, Northern Bactria from possible invaders from without.

It is noteworthy that, as distinct from big burial mounds which marked the areas of large concentrations of nomads, small mound groups of the pre-Kushan and Kushan period are scattered throughout the whole of Northern Bactria, often in the immediate proximity to Kushan settlements. This as well as local Bactrian pottery and other artifacts made by Bactrian craftsmen found in the nomad burial mounds testify to the fact that the nomads maintained constant close contacts with the oasis inhabitants. The distribution of these small burial mounds further proves that in the early Kushan period the nomadic newcomers were not only the political elite but also an organic part of the population of Northern Bactria.

Work in the Bishkent valley also revealed that early in the 1st century A.D. large masses of nomads had abandonned this valley, but whether this exodus was a local phenomenon or one typical of the whole of Northern Bactria is at this stage difficult to assert (at any rate, the large Babashov mound not far from the station of Mukry in Turkmenia, studied in 1960 and 1962, is evidence of the presence there of a big group of nomads as late as the 2nd-3rd centuries A.D.). Thus, studies into the nomads' monuments of the Kushan period in Central Asia have already produced quite tangible and stimulating results, which clearly point to the indisputable value of further research along this line.

Of equal interest are the conclusions made by Soviet archaeologists on the cultural and artistic standards in Central Asia, i.e., Northern Bactria, Soghd and Khorezm in the Kushan period. Prospecting and excavations in the above territories show beyond doubt that the last centuries B. C., and particularly the first centuries A.D. were a period of significant advances in agriculture and irrigation. Many of the now desert lands in the south of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, in the Kashka Darya valley, in the western section of the Bukhara oasis and in the Pridargom steppe south of Samarkand, in Kushan Khorezm, were thorving oases. Thus, in the above-mentioned Bishkent valley in the 1st-3rd centuries A.D. a large canal was dug which gave life to an oasis with three new settlements. Moreover, an attempt was made to irrigate the northern part of the valley with an immense 3-kilometre long underground canal-kyariz. The project was not completed, though. As shown by prospecting in the mountains of the upper reaches of the Zeravshan River, it was exactly during the Kushan period that agricultural population settled in the heart of the mountainous regions of Central Tajikistan. They were aligned in the Zeravshan valleys reaching the present-day extreme frontier of horticulture —the villages of Madrushkat and Matcha. Therefore, one will be justified in asserting that in Kushan times the agricultural population spread not only over the plains, but also in the mountain areas. The expansion of agriculture at that time was accompanied by an appreciable advance in agricultural techniques.

It was in the Kushan stratum on the Tali-Barzu site close to Samarkand that for the first time an iron plowshare of the omach-plow was found, which was a major agricultural implement that persisted in Central Asia until the 20th century.

The Khorezmian excavations furnish evidence that the canal system was also largely improved in Kushan times, when the canals became narrower and deeper than before and were laid through the middle of the field and not along the edges, the diversion cuts branching from the main at acute angles. This system was far more progressive than the preceding system whereby irrigation ditches had branched from the main flow almost at right angles and only to one side.

The works of Soviet archaeologists in Central Asia have proved that during the Kushan period the standards of town life in Khorezm, Soghd and Northern Bactria were quite high. The numerous towns which sprang up at that time had thick walls with rectangular towers and a regular rectangular layout. They were built, as a rule, according to a single elaborate plan. Many towns and settlements of the pre-Kushan time, such as Old Termez, were thriving in the Kushan period. It was also at that time that the Kampyr-duval, a long wall fencing in the Bukhara oasis, was erected. Crafts and trade were prominent in the life of towns and other settlements of Kushan Central Asia, which can be inferred from the findings of hardware and earthenware shops, from the high quality of pottery, metal articles and jewelry. This is further proved by the great number of coins found not only on town sites, but on individual farm sites, such as Ayaz-kala in Khorezm.

The findings made by the archaeological expeditions in Central Asia give an insight into the arts of Northern Bactria, Soghd and Khorezm of the Kushan period. In Northern Bactria, besides the famous stone reliefs of Airtam, which are close to the Gandhāra artistic tradition, besides stone reliefs and decorative column capitals characteristic of the local Bactrian school of Kushan sculpture, there have been found early Kushan murals and monumental clay sculpture of the small palace in Khalchayan. The latter sculpture points to the existence in Bactria of local Hellenistic art even prior to the emergence of the Kushan Kingdom, which conclusion is in good agreement with the discovery by French archaeologists at Oi-Khanum, so far the first authentic Graeco-Bactrian town in Northern Afghanistan. All the above finds, including the latest ones from Dalverzin-Tepe, as well as numerous variegated terracottas, give one grounds to assert that artistic creation reached great heights in Kushan Bactria and that an interesting and brilliant variety of fine art had evolved here. This art was of mixed origin, a blend of local —Iranian (Bactrian) and Hellenistic, as well as modifications of foreign—Indian and Graco-Roman artistic traditions. Also well advanced are the studies into the architecture of Kushan Northern Bactria with its crude structures, sometimes lined with stone, with a more or less organic mixture of Oriental and Antique traditional elements (for instance, the Oriental stepped merlons and antique antefixes crowning the Khalchayan buildings or stone bases and capitals of columns with wooden trunks found in many places of Northern Bactria).

Clearly traceable are the characteristic features of temple architecture of Kushan Bactria, such as the use on a wide scale in various religious structures (Buddhist—on Kara-Tepe in Old Termez, and non-Buddhist—in Surkh Kotal in Afghanistan) of one and the same layout—a closed sanctuary with three or four processional corridors. This principle, later detected in the Medieval temples of Central Asia and Eastern Turkistan and partly, Northern India, descended from the ancient Iranian and Near Eastern cult stuctures and is entirely alien to the pre-Kushan and early Kushan architecture of Buddhist India.

The results of archaeological studies into Kushan-time Khorezmian monuments lead one to assume that there were close ties between the Khorezmian and Northern Bactrian arts. Like Bactrian, Khorezmian palaces were adorned with murals and clay sculpture. The latter, as evidenced by the finds in Gyaur-Kala and particularly in Toprak-Kala, bears traits of a strong influence of Graeco-Roman sculpture especially manifest in the depiction of the body forms and interpretation of folded clothes. The same influence is visible in the sculpture of Northern Bactria and of the whole Kushan Kingdom in general. Khorezmian architecture of the Kushan period, which is also crude in character, uses stone less often than Bactrian, but here we encounter also stone bases of wooden columns and apparently Corinthian-type capitals (that they did exist is proved, among other things, by a terracotta replica of such a capital found in the vicinity of Koy-Krylgan-Kala). The definite affinity between the arts of Khorezm and Northern Bactria of the Kushan period is further manifested by a number of shapes and types of artistic ceramic ware, such as goblets on stems, vessels burnished in a striped or grid pattern against red engobe, etc. All the similarity notwithstanding, the architecture and terracottas reveal quite a few essential divergencies in the art of these two regions of Kushan Central Asia, the reason for which should be sought in the impact of local pre-Kushan cultural and artistic traditions as well as in the extensive relations Khorezm maintained with the tribes that inhabited the Kazakh steppes, the Volga region and the south of Russia.

The art of Kushan-time Soghd, so far known much scantier, has a few things in common with Khorezm and Northern Bactria (crude architecture with the use of stone profiled bases and wooden columns, red-engobe pottery, including articles burnished in a striped or grid fashion, goblets on stems etc). Similarly to Bactria, finds were made here of pottery with small embossed design, but also of Khorezmian-type earthen dishes decorated with intertwined bands. Yet pottery of Kushan-time Soghd has many features specific to this area, only in much the same way as the basic iconographic types of its multiple small plastic-terracotta sculpture.

On the whole all the materials give us reason to consider the Kushan period as a time of economic, cultural and artistic upsurge both for Bactria and Khorezm and, in all probability, Soghd too.

The archaeological excavations in Central Asia have shed light on other facets of the culture of Bactria, Soghd and Khorezm of the Kushan period, such as religion, language and writing. Since religious texts of that time have not yet been discovered, our ideas of religion in Kushan times are based on the burial monuments and cult-oriented pieces of art in Khorezm and Soghd. As for Bactria, additional insights are provided by temples and the objects and inscriptions found in them. In regard to the spoken and written language of Kushan Central Asia, apart from coins, we now have at our disposal written documents.

It should be specially stressed that prior to the large-scale archaeological explorations conducted by Soviet researchers in Central Asia, nothing had been known in the way of inscriptions, or structures, or burials of Kushan times ; the coins had been practically unstudied, and out of the art monuments only a few terracottas had been noticed. But even so, their dating and interpretation had been obscure. As for the monuments of a specific burial rite—ossuaries, discovered as early as the end of the past century, which have given rise to heated debates, they are related, as shown by current studies, to the post-Kushan period—the early Medieval times (5th-8th centuries).

In Bactria several pieces of evidence have been found, the most vivid among which are the Buddhist temples in Kara-Tepe and the sanctuary of Dalverzin-Tepe, testifying to the spread of Buddhism here in the Kushan epoch.

The terracottas reveal, though, that parallel to Buddhism there existed firmly entrenched old Iranian Mazdeist cults, in particular worship of the female deity of waters and fertility. An analysis of funeral rites of the Tup-hona in Hissar (not far from Dushanbe) and the sculpture of Khalchayan reveal that during the early Kushan period the inhabitants of Northern Bactria held religious beliefs much influenced by the Hellenistic cults and beliefs. Thus, in a number of the Tup-hona burials the deceased held in the mouth small coins—obols (compare the Greek notion of a fee to be paid to Charonus for transporting the soul of the dead to the underground kingdom), while, among the personages of Khalchayan, G. A. Pugachenkova has noted Athena, Eros and other deities obviously borrowed from Greek mythology.

Kushan-time terracottas and the recently discovered burials of the local Soghdian population bear no traces whatever of any Buddhist or Greek religious influence. Judging by the inventory of the burial, they testify to the belief in the after world and to the worship of Mazdeist deities, above all the female deity of the waters and fertility. The iconography of the latter however, is original and sharply distinct from the iconography of Bactrian and Khorezmian goddesses. Yet written sources report the existence of Soghdian Buddhist monks in the 2nd-4th centuries. Moreover, the remains of a Buddhist temple have been found in the Sanazar river valley (north-east of Samarkand). Provided it is proved that the temple is related to Kushan times, these facts give grounds to expect further discoveries, of material traces of the penetration of Buddhism into the area.

The religious beliefs in Kushan-time Khorezm are shown by the terracottas which are by and large of the Mazdeist type. Among the known Khorezmian terracottas of the Kushan period prevalent are the images of the local goddess of the waters and fertility and of a male deity, supposedly the deity of the dying and reviving nature. However, one should not neglect the find of several Buddhist terracottas—Bodhisattvas and replicas of the Buddhist stupa, which are evidence that under the Kushans Buddhism made inroads into Khorezm. On the other hand, the clay statues from the Toprak-Kala palace dated to the 3rd—early-4th centuries corroborate Biruni's testimony as to the existence in Kushan Khorezm of mysteries (the "dancing maskers" hall). They also point to the survival of some other elements of antique beliefs (the statue of the goddess of Victory—Nike crowning the Khorezmian kings) and, as likely as not, to the worship of deified kings (the hall containing statues of Khorezmian kings).

It should be stressed that the ossuarian burials which in the 5th-8th centuries widely spread in Northern Bactria and in Soghd as well as in other territories of Central Asia, and which testify to a certain degree of unification of Mazdeist beliefs in different regions of Central Asia, are not found in the Kushan sites either in Bactria or Soghd, whereas in Khorezm such burials have been discovered. In all likelihood, it is here, in Khorezm, that such a mode of burial originated and developed in the pre-Kushan and early Kushan time.[39]

Similar to religious beliefs, in the Kushan period Bactria, Soghd and Khorezm each had its own local spoken and written language. Thus in Northern Bactria along with the Indian languages and alphabets, most likely brought by the Buddhist missionaries and used, we believe, in the Buddhist monasteies and temples (Kara-Tepe in particular abounds in Indian Kharoṣṭhī and Brâhmī inscriptions), there emerged in the Kushan time an original script based on a slightly modified Greek alphabet adopted to convey the local Iranian language. Monuments of this "Kushan script" in Northern Bactria are so far best represented also in Kara-Tepe. There it was used, among other things, for donatory inscriptions on pottery along with Indian deeds of similar contents (there are bilingual deeds made in Indian and Bactrian). In the south of Bactria the best monuments of this script are, as is known, the inscription of Surkh-Kotal. The same script is encountered on Kushan coins as well.

The language and script of Kushan Khorezm are now known from separate small inscriptions on pottery, from Khorezmian coins of the 3rd century A.D. and later centuries, and finally, from the large administrative archive of Toprak-Kala. In all the mentioned inscriptions and documents, the language is local Iranian-Khorezmian, while the script, as distinct from the Bactrian, is not Greek but Aramaic in origin. This script is traceable down to the Aramaic documents of the Achaemenian offices. Its most ancient monuments are represented by the inscriptions on sherds in Koy-Krylgan-Kala.

So far, with the exception of coins, nothing has been found in the way of Soghdian inscriptions of the Kushan time on the territory of Soghd proper. However, a fairly substantial archive from Eastern Turkistan goes back as early as the 4th century A. D. This archive contains the famous "Soghdian ancient letters" from Tung-huang, one of which is addressed to the capital of Soghd, Samarkand. The language of these documents, as well as of the coin legends, is local Iranian-Sogdian, whereas the script, like the Khorezmian, is Aramaic, whose most ancient specimens, judging by the coins, go back to the Graeco-Bactrian kings of the 3rd-2nd centuries A.D. Despite sizeable gaps, the history of the Soghdian language and script is now outlined fairly clearly. This is particularly important, since the Soghdian language and script becomes in the 7-8th centuries the language and script of international communication across the vast expanse of Interior and Central Asia. Moreover, Soghdian inscriptions have been found, apart from Soghd, in Merve and Ladak, in Eastern Turkistan and Inner Mongolia.

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[39] *Trudy XXV Mezhdunarodnogo kongressa vostokovedov* [Transactions of the XXV International Congress of Orientalists], vol. III, Moscow, 1963, pp. 127-134.

When discussing the finds in Kushan Central Asia, one cannot but dwell on its international cultural relations. It is well known that the Kushan Kingdom maintained broad international relations, first and foremost, with the Graeco-Roman world. But practically all the scholars who dealt with these relations discussed only the Sothern Kushan regions (what is now Northern India, West Pakistan and Southern Afghanistan), whereas the part played by Bactria, Soghd and Khorezm in the international relations of the Kushan period remained entirely obscure. Soviet scholars have shed light on this facet of the "Kushan problem" too, and now it is an indisputable truth that the Central Asian territories of the Kushan Kingdom were active in the international relations of that epoch.

The ties of Bactria, Soghd and Khorezm with India which go back to the time of Achaemenian empire and Alexander the Great during the Kushan period fall into two stages. The first embraces the period from the second half of the 2nd century B.C. until roughly the threshold of the 1st century A.D. and is characterized by the invasion south of the Hindu-Kush of large masses of nomads from the Central Asian steppes.

The Central Asian nomads brought to India same battle tactics and weapons which had originated in Eurasian steppes, including these of the North Central-Asian tribes, as well some garments, household articles and ornaments, all of which were to some extent adopted by the Indians. At the same time there are no traces of Indian influence on the culture of the Central Asian regions of that epoch. Such one-side orientation of cultural influences is accounted for by the fact that the nomad conquerors of North India, Central Asian by origin and culture, had left their motherland not at all of their own accord (thus, for example, the Sakas headed south fleeing from the Yuech-chih and consequently severed all ties with Central Asia).

The second, and most important stage, embraces the Kushan period proper, i.e. the time of the existence of the Kushan Empire (1st-4th centuries A.D.). During that period, as distinct from the preceding one, there was apparently no mass migration of Central Asian tribes to India. The material evidence pointing to Kushan traces south of the Hindu-Kush boils down in the main to finds relating to the court of the Kushan kings. These are coins, sculptures (in particular, statues from the famous royal sanctuary in Mathurā) reflecting Central Asian tastes in the clothes, weapons and attitudes of the figures ; inscriptions of Kushan kings and local governors mentioning august names and titles (characteristically, all these inscriptions are made in Indian alphabets). On the other hand, this stage was marked by an appreciable Indian influence on both the Kushan nobility, who simply imitated the culture of the conquered Indian regions, and on the Kushan regions of Central Asia, first and foremost Bactria, where a far more complicated process was in progress : interaction of different cultural traditions, with the local population creatively mastering the culture of foreign peoples. In other words, the history of the Kushan Kingdom was marked by lively cultural exchanges between Central Asia and India, the cultural influences being of a reciprocal nature. The carriers of cultural influences in India were, above all and in the main, the Kushan authorities, functionaries and soldiers, whereas in Central Asia, Buddhist missionaries and monks.

The above-mentioned Kara-Tepe in Old Termez is a vivid instance of the Central Asian-Indian ties of the Kushan period. Here, on the right bank of the Amu Darya, in the vicinity of Kushan Termez an enormous Buddhist centre was excavated, comprising scores of temple complexes, which consisted of large cave sanctuaries, surface courts and temple structures, cave and overground cells of the monks who serviced these Buddhist shrines.

The architecture, the articles of cult and the inscriptions found in Kara-Tepe are all documentary evidence of the fact that Indian Buddhism, on the one hand, exerted a powerful impact upon the local culture, and on the other, that the Bactrian adepts of this religion had a creative approach to it. Thus, along with Indian inscriptions there are Buddhist inscriptions in the Bactrian language. Moreover, the layout of the Buddhist temples does not follow Indian canons, but rather the common principle whereby enclosed sanctuaries were built with three or four processional corridors.

The close contacts between Northern Bactria and India found reflection in Bactria's sculpture and in some elements of its secular culture.

Much less known so far are the ties between India and Kushan-time Soghd and Khorezm. Nevertheless, here too there are traces of Buddhist influences and some objects testifying to the existence of such relations, for instance, terracotta elephants and monkeys.

It has been found that along with the close cultural contacts with India, the regions of Kushan Central Asia maintained lively relations with Iran and the Far

East as well as with the seemingly distant Graeco-Roman world. "The great silk route" led to Roman Syria *via* the Central Asian domain of the Kushan Empire. It was likewise here, apparently in Khorezm, that the little known routes to the ancient cities on the Northern Black Sea Coast started. Through these routes, as well as *via* the sea route which connected Egypt conquered by Augustus with the ports of Western India, Mediterranean beads, pendants and other ornaments as well as Roman coins, clay lamps and vessels, etc made their way to Central Asia. It is interesting to note that earthenware imitations of Roman pottery were produced in Central Asia in Kushan times (such imitations are encountered both in Bactria—on Kara-Tepe, in Khorezm and on the territory of Soghd).

The latest discoveries made by Soviet researchers are conducive to a novel approach to such an important problem as the origin and nature of the so-called Gandhāra Art (it would be more correct to refer to it as Kushan Art). This problem is prominent by virtue of the disputes raging around it and by the controversy it has aroused. Let us cite just a few of the opinions.

The prominent British scholar M. Wheeler maintains that the corner-stone of Gandhāra Art was Roman influence manifested in Roman sculpture which made its way to the Kushan Empire. J. Marshall attaches special importance to Parthian influence. Some scholars are known to regard Gandhāra Art as eclectic, and as distinct from antique plastic art on the one hand, and the Mathurā school of Indian sculpture on the other.

In the light of the new data from Central Asia and Afghanistan it is obvious that all the above theories fail to reflect such a complex and multi-facet phenomenon as the Art of the Kushan Empire. We have grounds to believe now that it absorbed the varied artistic traditions of ancient Central Asia, Iran, Afghanistan and India, organically combining them with the best achievements of antique (Graeco-Roman) Art.[40] Moreover, there is every reason to assert that under the Kushans there existed different territorial schools, which, though interconnected, were in full measure official artistic trends. One of such schools, which has been proved to be highly original and important for Oriental Art, was the Bactrian school, whose brilliant monuments were discovered by Soviet archaeologists in the south of Uzbekistan (Khalchayan, Dalverzin-Tepe, etc) and by French archaeologists in Northern Afghanistan. All this leads one to regard Gandhāra Art proper as but an artistic trend and a territorial school of north-west India.

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40. See G. A. Pugachenkova's works *K probleme iskusstva severnoi Parfii i severnoi Baktrii* [The Problem of Art of Northern Parthia and Northern Bactria], "Obshchestvenniye nauki v Uzbekistane", 1964, N 6 and *Khalchayan*, which deal with the Parthian and Northern Bactrian contributions to the evolution of Kushan art and in particular Gandhāra art.

D. Schlumberger's work in Surkh-Kotal and Soviet research in Northern Bactria have made it clear that the formerly popular viewpoint whereby Gandhāra Art was considered purely Buddhistic, is to be revised. The latest discoveries prove that in the Kushan period parallel to Buddhist relics of north-west India, there doubtless existed clearly non-Buddhist monuments—Graeco-Iranian, or secular, as D. Schlumberger puts it. This conclusion, based on factual evidence, opens up a new aspect in the Art of the Kushan Kingdom, and it prompts us to be more considerate to the contributions of local cults and beliefs and local traditions in the culture of the peoples of Central Asia.

Kushan Art influences survived long after the decay of the Kushan Empire, and so studies in the complexes reflecting them might prove instrumental in disentangling the enigmas of Kushan Art as a whole.

The finds in the palace of the Khorezmian kings of the 3rd-early 4th centuries in Toprak-Kala bear witness to the tremendous impact of Kushan Art on this remote area of Central Asia at the time of the downfall of the Kushan Empire. Mention should also be made of the murals of the Balalyk-Tepe castle (Uzbek SSR) related to the 5th-6th centuries,[41] where along with the Buddhist motives analogous to the murals of Bamiyan (in Afghanistan), there is a very prominent secular trend. This also refers to the 7th-8th century murals in Varakhsha,[42] Pianjikent[43] and Afrasiab,[44] which show Indian influences but have very pronounced

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41. See L. I. Albaum, *Balalyk-tepe*, Tashkent, 1960.
42. See V. A. Shishkin, *Varakhsha*, Moscow, 1963.
43. See *Zhivopis' drevnego Pianjakenta* [The painting of Ancient Pianjikent], Moscow, 1954 ; *Skul'ptura i zhivopis' drevnego Pianjikenta* [The Sculpture and Painting of Ancient Pianjikent], Moscow, 1959 ; A. M. Belenitsky, B. Y. Stavisky, *Novoe o drevnem Pianjikente* [New Data on Ancient Pianjikent],—in *Arkheologi rasskazyvayut* [Archaeologists speak], Stalinabad, 1959, pp. 38-66 ; A. M. Belenitsky, *Drevnii Pianjikent (osnovnye itogi raskopok 1954-1957 gg).* [Ancient Pianjikent (Main Results of Excavations in 1954-1957)]. SA, 1959, No. 1, pp. 195-217 ; A.M. Belenitsky, *Rezul'taty raskopok na gorodishche drevnego Pianjikenta v 1960 g.* [Results of Excavations on the Site of Ancient Pianjikent in 1960], "Trudy II AN Tadzh. SSR", vol. XXXIV, 1962, pp. 90-117 ; *Nouvelles decouvertes de sculptures et de peinture murales a Piandjikent*, "Arts Asiatique", t. v. fasc. 3, 1958, pp. 163-182.
44. See V. A. Shishkin, *Novye pamyatniki iskusstva Sogda* [New Relics of Soghdian Art], "Iskusstvo", 1966, N 1, pp. 62-66.

local traits. In this connection, special interest is commanded by the excavations of the Buddhist monastery dated to the 7th-8th centuries in Adshina-Tepe, where, among other things, remarkable sculptures were found, which bear traces of the local Bactrian school of Central Asian Art of the preceding period.[45]

Thus Kushan Art in Central Asia evolved as an organic blend of the ancient traditions, both local and foreign, possibly going back as far as the Achaemenian period and Alexander the Great ; it transcended the boundaries of the Kushan Empire and exerted a powerful impact for many centuries to come on the Art of the Central Asian peoples.

These are just some of the results of the studies conducted by Soviet scholars in the archaeological monuments of Kushan Central Asia. Entirely unknown only 30 or 40 years ago, it has come to light as a highly developed country with a rich culture, remarkable art and broad international connections with the west and the east, and with the North and the South, with all the advanced countries and areas of the time.

The study of Kushan monuments in Central Asia is going on, and we hope that they will result in new important finds that will allow us to get still closer to solving the "Kushan problem".

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45. The results of the excavations will be published soon. See preliminary report by B. A. Litvinsky, *Tadzhikistan i Indiya* (*Primery drevnikh svyazei i kontaktov*) [Tajikistan and India : Ancient Links and Contacts],—in *Indiya v drevnosti*, [India in Ancient Times], Moscow, 1964, p. 159.

OUTLINE HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN CENTRAL ASIA

B. A. Litvinsky

ABBREVIATIONS

[used in this article]

DAN — Doklady Akademii nauk ("Papers of the Academy of Sciences")
EV — Epigrafika Vostoka ("Oriental Epigraphy")
KAEE — Kirgizskaya arkheologo-etnograficheskaya ekspeditsiya (Kirghiz Archaeological-Ethnological Expedition)
KSIA — Kratkiye soobshcheniya o dokladakh i polevykh issledovaniyakh Instituta istorii materialnoi kultury (AN SSSR) ["Minutes of the Papers and Field Researches of the Institute of Archaeology", (USSR Academy of Sciences)]
KSIIMK — Kratkiye soobshcheniya o dokladakh i polevykh issledovaniyakh Instituta istorii materialnoi kultury (AN SSSR) ["Minutes of the Papers and Field Researches of the Institute of the History of Material Culture" (USSR Academy of Sciences)]
MIA — Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii SSSR ("Materials and Researches on the Archaeology of the USSR")
PV — Problemy vostokovedeniya ("Problems of Oriental Studies")
SA — Sovetskaya arkheologiya ("Soviet Archaeology")
UTAKE — Yuzhno-Turkmenistanskaya arkheologicheskaya kompleksnaya ekspeditsiya (South-Turkmenian Joint Archaeological Expedition)
VDI — Vestnik drevnei istorii ("Bulletin of Ancient History")
ZVORAO— Zapiski vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkheologicheskogo obshchestva ("Proceedings of the Oriental Branch of the Russian Archaeological Society").

AA — Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
AM — Asia Major
AOr — Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
ARASJ — Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India
BEFEO — Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient
BSO(A)S — Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies, University of London.
CAJ — Central Asiatic Journal
EI — Encyclopaedia of Islam or Encyclopaedie de l'Islam (first edition)
JA — Journal Asiatique

JRAS — Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland
MASI — Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India
MDAFA — Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Francaise en Afghanistan
RE — Pauly's Real-Encyclopaedie der classischen Altertum wissenschaft (neue Bearbeitung, begonnen von G. Wissowa, hrag. von W. Kroll)
SPA — A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistorie Times to the Present
SPAW — Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
TP — T'oung Pao
ZDMG — Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gessellschaft

Abu'l-Rayḥān Muḥammad al-Bīrūnī was the first to trace the history of Buddhism in Central Asia and the Near East. Approximately a thousand years ago, he said : "In former times Khorāsān, Persis, Irâq, Mosul, the country up to the frontier of Syria, was Buddhistic, but then Zarathustra went forth from Ādharbāyjān and preached Magism in Balkh (Baktra). His doctrine came into favour with King Gushtasp, and his son Isfendiyād spread the new faith both in East and West, both by force and by treaties. He founded fire temples through his whole empire, from the frontiers of China to those of the Greek Empire. The succeeding Kings made their religion (i.e., Zoroastrianism) the obligatory state religion of Persis and Irāq. In consequence, the Buddhists were banished from those countries and had to emigrate to the countries east of Balkh."[1] "They worshipped idols, their remnants may now be found in India, China and among the Toghuzghuz ; the inhabitants of Khorāsān call them 'shamanan', or in the singular 'shaman' [from the Sanskrit *śramaṇa,-B.L.*]. Their shrines are the *vihāras* of their idols and the 'fārkharas' can (still) be seen in the border district of Khorāsān adjoining India."[2]

So wrote this learned Khorezmian, who was really not too conversant with the factual history of Buddhism.[3] But the true history of the spread of Buddhism in Central Asia has not been fully recapitulated even to this day, as A. M. Belenitsky has justly pointed out.[4]

In the present outline, the author, whose field is the study of Buddhist monuments in Western Turkistan, has attempted to summarise the new archaeological material against the background of available data concerning the spread of Buddhism in this part of Asia.[5]

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[1] *Alberuni's India*, Transl. by E. C. Sachau, vol. I, London, 1888, p. 21 ; Abureikhan Bīrūnī, India, *Isbranniye proizvedeniya*, vol. II, Tashkent, 1963, pp. 66-67.

[2] Abureikhan Bīrūnī, Pamyatniki minuvshikh pokoleniy, *Izbranniye proizvedeniya*, vol. I, Tashkent, 1957, p. 204.

[3] In the opinion of E. C. Sachau, al-Bīrūnī knew very little about the history of Buddhism ; see *Alberuni's India*, vol. II, London, 1888, p. 237, note 40.

[4] A. M. Belenitsky, *Iz istorii kulturnykh svyazei Srednei Azii i Indii v rannem srednevekovye*, KSIA, fasc. 98, Moscow 1964, p. 33.

[5] It was our privilege in writing this paper to have the valuable consultations of V. A. Livshitz, M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya and G. M. Bongard-Levin, and we are happy to take this occasion to thank them.

The history of Buddhism in Central Asia is usually dated from the time of the Graeco-Bactrian state, although knowledge of the teachings of the Buddha, and perhaps some Buddhist adepts, may have found their way here much earlier, in the Achaemenian era.[6] There are frequent references in the literature to the representation of a stūpa on Agathocles coins, to the probable Buddhist origin of one of the legends on the coins of Menander, and to the fact that the wheel on his coins is a Buddhist symbol. We also have the Buddhist tradition of King Menander's conversion to Buddhism as related in the famous "Milinda-pañhā" ("Milinda's Questions"), Milinda being the Indian name of Menander. This source has come down to us in the Pali text and Chinese translation, and though it was composed at a later date (after Menander's death) we cannot discount what it tells us as to Milinda's (Menander's) having been a Buddhist.[7] W. W. Tarn is inclined to put an entirely different interpretation on the data of the Graeco-Bactrian coins, denying that they bear reflections of Buddhism.[8] But his arguments are not altogether convincing.[9]

At the very latest, Buddhism must have found a wide following in the Qandahār area of what is now southern-Afghanistan by the middle of the 3rd century B.C.[10] The Qandahār bilingual edict of Aśoka is rightly spoken of as an eloqueut testimonial to the extension of Buddhism in the direction ot Central Asia.[11] The further progress of Buddhism to the north is borne out by a

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[6] A similar view was expressed earlier with respect to Iran ; see E. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster and His World*, vol. II, Princeton, 1947, p. 629.

[7] For a detailed account, see S. Levi, *Le bouddhisme et les grecs*, "Revue de l'histoire des religions", vol. XXIII, Paris, 1891, No. 1, pp. 40-45 ; also K. V. Trever, *Pamyatniki greko-baktriyskogo iskusstva*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1940, p. 24 ; V. A. Smith, *The Early History of India*, 1957, p. 239.

[8] W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge, 1951, pp. 160-162, 262-265.

[9] For more on this, see F. Altheim, *Weltgeschichte Asiens im griechischen Zeitalter*, vol. I, Halle (Saale), 1947, pp. 335-337.

[10] G. Tucci, U. Scerrato, G. Pugliese Carratelli, G. Levi della Vida, *Un editto bilingue greco-aramaico di Aśoka*, Roma, 1958 ; D. Schlumberger, L. Robert, A. Dupont-Sommer, E. Benveniste, *Une bilingue greco-arameenne d'Aśoka*, JA, vol. 246, 1958, pp. 1-48 ; also later publications. Also see D. Schlumberger, *Une nouvelle inscription grecque d'Aśoka*, Paris, 1964 ; *A Bilingual Graeco-Aramaic Edict by Aśoka*, Rome, 1964.

[11] J. Harmatta, *Sino-Indica*, AA, vol. XII, No. 1-2, Budapest, 1964, p. 4.

Kharoṣṭhī inscription on a clay object extracted from the Begram 1 layer (3rd-2nd centuries B.C.). J. Harmatta reads a Buddhist name in it.[12]

In southern Bactria, a tradition of the great antiquity of Buddhism which persisted among local Buddhists up to the early Middle Ages averred that two of their countrymen had received Enlightenment from the Buddha himself, and had then disseminated his teachings.[13] Fantastic as it may seem, this story of Hsuan Tsang's must be taken into consideration.[14]

Certainly in the latter part or well towards the end of the existence of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom (whose very foundation must have promoted the spread of Buddhism by uniting in one state the north Indian regions, the territory of Afghanistan and several of the Western Turkistan lands), Buddhist missionaries and local adepts of the Buddhist faith made their appearance in northern Afghanistan and then in the south of Western Turkistan.[15]

It is very tempting to seek the evidence of Avesta in tracing the ancient pathways of Buddhism in Western Turkistan. The word "Būiti" (Būti) figures three times in the "Vīdevdāt". H. W. Bailey sees the possibility of this being a loan-word, borrowed from the Indian "Buddha", and explains the terminal "i" as the result of East Iranian adaptation of the word.[16] This view rests upon the dating of the "Videvdāt" in the 2nd century B. C., as suggested by E. Herzfeld. The latter is inclined to read Buddhist content in the epithet given Balkh in the "Vīdevdāt": *drafsa*—"with lifted banners". He arrives at this by analogy with the account of the Buddhist monastery of Navbahār in Balkh, which is described by Arab authors as flying vast numbers of huge banners.[17]

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[12] J. Harmatta, *Sino-Indica*, pp. 4-5.

[13] *The Life of Hsuan-Tsang compiled by mank Hui-li*, Peking, 1955, p. 51.

[14] See I. P. Minaiyev, *Neskolko rasskazov iz pererozhdeniy Buddy*,—in "Izbranniye trudy russkikh indologov-filologov", Moscow, 1962, pp. 70-71.

[15] As to this, the view of P. C. Bagchi (*India and Central Asia*, Calcutta, 1955, p. 32) that Buddhism had penetrated into Bactria by the time of Aśoka, seems to us to be more probable than that of A. Foucher, who held that Buddhism did not appear in Bactria until the end of the 1st or 2nd century A.D. (see A. Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres a Taxila*, vol. II, Paris 1947, pp. 280-281). The latter view seems mistaken.

[16] H. W. Bailey, *The Word "but" in Iranian*, BSOS, 1931, vol. VI, pt. 2, pp. 282-283. Compare with E. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster and His World*, vol. II, pp. 755-756.

[17] E. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster...*, vol. II, pp. 754-755.

In the opinion of a number of scholars, Alexander Polyhistor's statement that a Greek word is derived from the Sanskrit "śramaṇa" suggests that Buddhism was widely practised in Bactria as early as the 1st century B.C.[18] To be sure, it is not clear from the text whether the reference is to Bactria proper or to the whole of the Graeco-Bactrian state.

Only recently G. A. Koshelenko pointed out, and with full justice, that like Bactria, Margiana was also a centre of early Western Turkistan Buddhism.[19] He is of the opinion that the Parthians made the acquaintance of Buddhism no later than the turn of our era, and refers the appearance of Buddhism in Margiana to the 1st century A.D.[20] It may be, however, that these dates or at least the first of them should be moved back a little in time.[21]

In this connection we would like to draw the reader's attention to a fact which has apparently escaped the notice of students of the history of Buddhism in Western Turkistan.

According to the Mahâvaṃsa historical chronicle of Ceylon, the Ceylonese king Duṭṭhagāmani, whose regnal years most scholars give as 101-77 B.C.,[22] marked the laying of the "Great Stūpa" by a huge celebration which was attended by great number of bhikṣus from many foreign lands (Mahāvaṃsa, XXIX, 29). So there came to Ceylon the wise Mahādeva from Pallavabhogga with 460,000 bhikṣus; and from Alasanda, the city of the Yonas, came Yonamahādhammarakkhita with 30,000 bhikṣus (Mahāvaṃsa, XXIX, 38, 39).[23] As with other details of this account of the attendance at the celebration, the number of guests is of course grossly exaggerated. But what matters for us is the degree of authenticity that can be attached to this account of the arrival in Ceylon of representatives of a Buddhist saṅgha from Pallavabhogga and Alasanda.

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[18] See S. Levi *Le bouddhisme et les grecs*, pp. 36-40 (the comparison of the *Sarmanes* of Megasthenes with the Sanskrit *śramaṇa* ; the Boutta of Clement of Alexandria with Buddha, etc); J. P. Asmussen, *Xuāstvanīft : Studies in Manichaeism*, "Acta Theologia Danica", vol. VII, Copenhagen, pp. 135, 157 ; J. Marquart, *Erānsahr nach der Geographie der Ps. Moses Xorenac'i* Berlin, 1901, p. 90 ; A. Foucher, *L'art greco-bouddhique du Gandhara*, vol. II, Paris, 1918, p. 639.

[19] G. A. Koshelenko, Review on "Kara-tepe—buddiysky monastyr v Stanom Termeze" (by T. Y. Grek, Y. G. Pchelina, B. Y. Stavisky published in Moscow in 1964), VDI, 1966, No. 2, pp. 192-193.

[20] G. Koshelenko, *The Beginning of Buddhism in Margiana*, AA, XIV, fasc. 1-2, Budapest, 1966, p. 180.

[21] B. A. Litvinsky, *Mahādeva i Dutthagamani* (O nachale buddizma v Parfii), VDI, 1967, No. 3, pp. 88-91.

[22] *The Mahāvaṃsa or the Great Chronicle of Ceylon* (translated by W. W. Geiger), Colombo, 1950, p. XXXVII. This date is also accepted by W. Rahula (*History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1957, p.80). Compare with *History of Ceylon*, vol. I, pt I, Colombo, 1959, p. 255 (for the date 161—136 B.C.)

Varying evaluations of the authenticity of the chronicle can be found in the literature. W. Geiger, its latest and most authoritative investigator, believes that although it was composed around the beginning of the 6th century A.D., the Mahāvaṃsa was based upon much older material, primarily upon local chronicles which are no longer extant. Significantly, whenever it has been possible to verify the information in the Mahāvaṃsa, that information, as Geiger notes, has proved correct.[24]

Analysing the excerpt quoted above, S. Lévi associates "Pallavas" with Pahlavas, i.e., the Parthians, while Alasanda in his reading is Alexandria—"either Alexandria in the Caucasus", or "Alexandria in Egypt".[25] In his notes on the translation of the text, Geiger says that Palava is a Persian name (the Sanskrit "Pallava" or "Pahlava"). "Bhoggam" may mean feudal domain or landed estate. He adds that Alexandria in the land of the Greeks was probably the city which the Macedonian king founded in the Parapamisade near Kabul.[26]

Where had " the wise Mahādeva" come from ? The historical situation leaves little room for doubt on that score. It is most unlikely that he and his companions came from the inland possessions of the Parthians. What is more probable is that they set out from the south-eastern dominions of the Parthian state.[27]

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[23] In the edition of W. W. Geiger (see above), pp. 193-194.

[24] *The Mahāvaṃsa...*, pp. IX-XX. The same view of the Ceylon chronicle is shared by its Soviet investigator, E. S. Semeka, from whom we received valuable consultation on this question.

[25] S. Lévi, *Le bouddhisme et les grecs*, p. 45 ; J. P. Asmussen, *Xuāstvanīft...*, pp. 135-136.

[26] *The Mahāvaṃsa...*, p. 194, notes 2-3.

[27] For the history of these territories see P. Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Parthia and India in the British Museum in London*, 1886, pp. XL-XLVI, 68 et seq. ; V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, vol. I, Oxford, 1906, pp. 35 et seq. ; V. A. Smith, *The Indo-Parthian Dynasties*, ZDMG, vol. 60, 1906, No. 1, pp. 49-72 ; R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum*, Lahore, vol. I, *Indo-Greek Coins*, Oxford, 1914, p. 91 et seq. ; E. Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, vol. IV, pt 2, Berlin, 1932, pp. 70-85 ; A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, Oxford, 1962, pp. 140-142 ; V. M. Masson,

These domninions, particularly Sakastane, were semi-independent lands. The term "Pallavabhogga", whose meaning was explained in the preceding paragraph, is a most appropriate designation for such a domain. In addition, we might recall that the Parthians obviously engaged in trade with the countries along the Indian Ocean and so had access to Ceylon.[28]

The second of the above-mentioned representations must indeed have been from Alexandria in the Caucasus, in other words—from the vicinity of present-day Kabul.[29] This fully accords, for one, with the other evidences we have of the early spread of Buddhism there, and, in addition, with the fact that a small Graeco-Bactrian state[30] continued to exist there.

The above "Ceylon episode" of Parthian Buddhism may be taken as proof, accordingly, that Buddhism had gained a wide footing in the south-eastern territories of the Parthian state by the 1st century B.C. at the latest. Soon after that, it may also have reached Margiana. There are thus grounds for assuming that by the 2nd century A.D., or the time of An Shih-kao, there was already a long tradition of Buddhism in Parthia.

With respect to the further destinies of Buddhism in eastern Parthia, note should be made of the fact that the role of the Kushan Empire in the spread of Buddhism was not the same in Parthia as in Central Asia.[31] Only in Central Asia can the political aims of the Kushan state be said to have played a vital role in the broad stream of Buddhist propaganda ; in Parthia, which did not belong to the Kushan Empire, the fate of Buddhism was different.

The oldest relic found in Tajikistan which is possibly related to Buddhism is the inscription which the 1956 expedition led by A. M. Bernshtam brought to light at Darshai, a site in the West Pamirs. J. Harmatta, in publishing the inscription, called it "the oldest Kharoṣṭhī inscription in Inner Asia" and has suggested that it

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V. A. Romodin, *Istoriya Afganistana*, vol. I, Moscow, 1964, pp. 135-139 (including a detailed bibliography).

[28] W. Otto, *Hippalos* (3), RE, vol. VIII, Stuttgart, 1913, cols 1660-1661 ; N. C. Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia*, Chicago, 1938, pp. 45-46. The merchant Hippalos (approximate date—100 B. C.) is credited with the discovery that the monsoons can be utilised in navigating the Indian Ocean.

[29] W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge, 1951, p. 421, note 4 ; pp. 460-462 (excursus, "Alexandria of the Caucasus and Kapisa").

[30] This view was stated earlier by P. Gardner (*The Coins*, p. XL).

[31] A different point of view was recently presented by J. Brough (*Comments on Third-Century Shan-Shan and the History of Buddhism*, BSOAS, vol. XXVIII, pt 3, 1965, p. 586).

be read as "Nārāyaṇa, be victorious!" By the method of paleographic analysis he has dated the inscription in the end of the 2nd, beginning of the 1st century B. C., and has discounted the paleographic data that might support a later date (the Kushan period).[32] But there is nothing final about the dating of this written testimony to the appearance of the Nārāyaṇa cult in Western Turkistan ("Nārāyaṇa, the Buddha" is encountered in the Khotanese-Saka documents from Eastern Turkistan, and "Nārāyaṇa, the deva" occurs in the Buddhist Soghdian documents).[33]

The spread of Buddhism in Western Turkistan was doubtlessly stimulated by the formation of the Kushan Empire, whose borders at its zenith stretched far wider than those of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. Not only were the rulers of the Kushan Empire well disposed towards Buddhism, but some of them,[34] as the great Kanishka, were evidently adherents of Buddhism. Kanishka is reputed to have erected many Buddhist monuments and to have convened a Buddhist Council at Purushapur.[35] Among the deities depicted on Kanishka coins there are images of the Buddha.

Some Kanishka gold coins depict a standing male deity seen full face, with a halo around his head and aureole around his body. He has the uṣṇīṣa top-knot and elongated ears; his left hand is holding the folds of his saṅghāti, the right seems to be in the abhaya-mudrā attitude. The legends on these coins are in the Kushan script.

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[32] J. Harmatta, *The Oldest Kharoṣṭhī Inscription in Inner Asia*, AOr, vol. XIX, No. 1, Budapest, 1966, pp. 1-12.

[33] Nārāyaṇa is, as is known, connected with the cult of the sun (see S. K. De, *Bhāgavatism and Sun-Worship*, BSOS, 1931, vol. VI, pt 3).

[34] The opinion is encountered in the literature that representations of the Buddha are found on Kujula Kadphises coins. This view was advanced by V. Smith and supported by R. Whitehead (*Catalogue of Coins*, pp. 181-182, pl.XVII/29). The seated figure on the reverse does in a way reflect the early iconography of the Buddha image, but certain details make us doubt the correctness of identifying it as the Buddha.

[35] For more on the religious policy of Kanishka and the Buddhist tradition associated with his name see *Istoriya Tajikskogo naroda*, vol. I, ed. by B. G. Gafurov and B. A. Litvinsky, Moscow, 1963, pp. 373-374; V. A. Smith, *The Early History of India*, pp. 280-285; K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, *A Comprehensive History of India*, vol. II, Bombay-Calcutta-Madras, 1957, pp. 238-240. For epigraphical and literary evidences of Buddhism in Kushan India, and information on the Sarvāstivādins and Mahāsanghikas see B. N. Puri, *India under the Kushanas*, Bombay, 1965, pp. 140-145. These works include detailed bibliographical indexes.

This is the same attitude the Buddha is shown in on some rather rare copper coins. On these, as on other coins with a frontal seated figure, the inscription in the Kushan script reads CAKAMANO·BOYΛO (or BOSAO)—"Buddha Śākyamuni". There are also copper coins with a male figure in padmāsana, right hand in abhaya-mudrā and the inscription of them (which is not altogether clear) evidently readable as "The God Buddha". It must be noted that the number of such coins is small.[36]

The written sources attest to the important role natives of Ṭukhāristān played in the elaboration and dissemination of the Buddhist doctrine in Kushan times. The famous Buddhist theologian Ghoṣaka was born in Ṭukhāristān. He was one of the leading figures at the Buddhist Council in Purushapura and author of the commentary composed there on the Abhidharma-vibhāṣā. Ghoṣaka returned to Ṭukhāristān after the Council. This theologian was accordingly a disciple of the Vaibhāṣika school, later divided into branch schools, one of which, called the western Vaibhāṣika school, was connected with "the country of Balkhika" or Balkh. The traditions of this school may even be traceable to Ghoṣaka. The importance of this school in Ṭukhāristān is reflected in the fact that the first translator of its treatises into the Tokharian language was the Ṭukhārian monk Dharmamitra of Tarmita or Termez,[37] about whom we have various direct evidences. This justifies us in concluding that the Vaibhāṣika school, a branch of the Sarvāstivāda school, was widespread in Western Turkistan or at least its southern part. Generally, Sarvāstivāda was related to the Hīnayāna, but a number of important elements in the Vaibhāṣika doctrine brought it close to the Mahāyāna sphere. Some scholars believe that Vaibhāṣika "even seems in certain ways to have paved the way for Mahāyāna" in Khotan.[38]

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[36] A. Cunningham, *Coins of the Kushans, or Great Yue-ti*, London, 1892, pp. 18-19, 105-106 ; V. S. Agravala, A Coin of Kanishka with the Figure of the Buddha, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, vol. VIII, 1, Bombay, 1946, pp. 61-62 ; J. E. Lohuizen de Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, Leiden. 1949 pp. 105-106 ; J. M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1967. pp. 76-77. For types of coins bearing likeness of the Buddha, see E. V. Zeymal *Kushanskoye tsarstvo po numizmaticheskim dannym* (author's abstract of his thesis), Leningrad, 1965, pp. 14-15.

For more on the pantheon of Kushan coins and how they reflected the deities of Alexandrian-Roman coinage, see R. Coebl, *Zwei neue Termini für ein Zentrales Datum der alten Geschichte Mittelasiens, das Jahr I des Kusānkoenigs Koniska*. Sanderabdruck aus "Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften", 1964, No. 7, p. 140. E. V. Zeymal takes exception to R. Coebl's conception. The view of Kennedy and Konow that the pantheon of Kushan coins has nothing to do with the Kushan religion (S. Konow, *A Note on the Sakas and Zoroastrianism*,—in "Oriental Studies in Honour of C. E. Pavry", London, 1933, p. 220) is too extreme a statement of the case to be acceptable, in our opinion. What is true is that one must not make automatic conclusions and deductions. But with respect to Buddhism, S. Konow agrees that Kanishka was a Buddhist and that this is borne out by various sources.

The spread of other schools in Western Turkistan is also postulated. From his study of the writing on the potsherds at Kara-Tepe, J. Harmatta has found that the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions there reflect the teachings of the Mahāsaṅghika school and suggested that this was the school that pioneered the spread of Buddhism in Western Turkistan. Another group of Kara-Tepe inscriptions in Brāhmī is regarded by Harmatta as proof of the spread of the doctrine of the Sarvāstivāda school of Buddhism in Western Turkistan at a later date, under Kanishka.[39]

According to I-Tsing, the Sarvāstivāda school predominated in northern India in the 7th century, but adherents of the Mahāsaṅghika school were still encountered there sometimes.[40] How matters stood in Western Turkistan in this respect is not known.

We also have information on the spread of Buddhism in other regions of Western Turkistan. The Sūtrālaṅkāra tells us that a native of Puskaravati journeyed (evidently in the Kushan period) to the site of what later became Tashkent in order to decorate a vihāra or Buddhist monastery.[41]

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[37] H. W. Bailey, *Indo-Iranica* (III, 5), Tarmita, BSOAS, 1950, vol. XIII, pt 2, pp. 400-403 ; P. C. Bagchi, *India and Central Asia*, pp. 32-33.

[38] J. P. Asmussen *Xuāstvānīft...*, p. 144.

[39] J. Harmatta, *K interpretatsii nadpisey iz Kara-Tepe*, in "Kara-Tepe", II (currently at press).

[40] O. Franke, *Die Ausbreitung des Buddhismus von Indien nach Turkistan und China*,—in "Archiv für Religionswissenschaft", Bd XII, Leipzig, 1909, p. 215. On these schools, see A. Bareau, *Les sectes bouddhiques du Petit Vehicule*, Saigon, 1955 (publications de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient, vol. XXXVIII), pp. 55-74, 131-152.

[41] A. Foucher, *L'art greco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, vol. 11/2, Paris, 1922, p. 644. Attention was first called in Russian literature to the importance of this report by M. I. Vyazmitina (*Raskopki na gorodishche Airtam*,—in "Termezskaya arkheologicheskaya expeditsiya", vol. II, Tashkent, 1945, p. 34, note 35).

Buddhism also consolidated its positions in Margiana in the first centuries A. D.[42] Via Western Turkistan, too, it reached Eastern Turkistan and then China. A plausible hypothesis, in our opinion, is that of E. Zürcher to the effect that the gradual infiltration of Buddhism into China took place primarily from the direction of Western Turkistan, following the usual routes from the west. This process was enacted between the middle of the 1st century B. C. and middle of the 1st century A. D.[43]

Western Turkistan theologians and missionaries played an important role in the spread of Buddhism in Eastern Turkistan and China. Truth and legend are fantastically interwoven in the stories about the initial phase of the spread of Buddhism in those countries.[44] In the "Wei Lio", a third-century source, there is a piece[45] variously interpreted by Sinologists to mean that: 1) a mission from the Great Yüeh-chih arrived in China in the year 2 B. C. and acquainted the Chinese with Buddhism; 2) a Chinese mission visited the Yüeh-chih in the year 2 B. C. and the Yüeh-chih crown prince acquainted the visitors with Buddhism. Some scholars today believe that the lines in question are not worth any consideration at all.[46] Although their historical authenticity is disputable,[47] they do however tell us of the part men from the land of the Yüeh-chih were credited by Chinese Buddhist tradition with having played in popularising Buddhism in China. From them we may infer (and that is the most important thing for us) that the land of the Yüeh-chih was regarded as one of the main centres of Buddhism in the 3rd century A.D., when the "Wei-Lio" was composed or again in the early 5th century, when the commentaries on it appeared.[48] Of course, the "land of the Yüeh-chih" or Kushan Empire at the time of its maximum expansion embraced not only a large part of Western Turkistan, but also Afghanistan and northern India. At the same time it must be granted that the compilers of the Chinese historical chronicles were perfectly aware that Western Turkistan specifically was the nucleus of the Yüeh-chih dominions at the threshold of our era. It may be safely assumed that the Chinese sources were speaking of Western Turkistan or men who originally came from there.[49] R. N. Frye has even suggested that the Buddhist writings were first translated into Soghdian from the "Kushan" (i.e., Bactrian) language, but his arguments do not seem very strong.[50]

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[42] G. A. Koshelenko, *Kultura Margiany v antichnoye i rannesrednevekovoye vremya*,—in "Materialy sessii posvyashchonnoi itogam arkheologicheskikh i etnograficheskikh issledovaniy 1964 goda v SSSR (tezisy dokladov)", Baku, 1965' p. 108; G. A. Koshelenko, *Kultura parfii*, Moscow, 1955, pp. 95-97; G. Koshelenko, *The beginning of Buddhism in Margiana*, pp. 175-183.

[43] E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*. The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China, vol. 1, (text), "Sinica Leidensia", vol. XI, Leiden, 1956, pp. 22-33.

[44] H. Glasenapp, *Der Buddhismus in Indian und im Fernen Osten*, Berlin-Zurich, 1936, pp. 197-198.

[45] E. Chavannes, *Les pays d'occident d'apres de Wei Lio*, T'oung Pao, sér. II, vol. VI, 1905, pp. 546-550.

[46] For more on the initial period of the spread of Buddhism in China see P. C. Bagchi, *India and Central Asia*, pp. 33-34, 37-40; P. C. Bagchi. *Expansion of Buddhism: Central Asia and China*,—in "2500 Years of Buddhism", Delhi, 1956, pp. 66-68; Chao Pu-chu, *Buddhism in China*, Peking, pp. 66-68; V. N. Shtein, *Ekonomicheskiye i kulturniye svyazi mezhdu Kitaem i Indiei v drevnosti* (do III v.n.e.), Moscow, 1960, pp. 154-157. For a more detailed account of same see E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, (re. this mission—pp. 24-25).

[47] Chavannes (Les pays d'occident) and Franke (*Die Ausbreitung des Buddhismus*, p. 209) are certain that the mission took place.

What prompted the flow of Western Turkistan missionaries to the east—to the oases of Eastern Turkistan ? Why did the fervent propagation of Buddhism there take place in the 2nd and 3rd centuries ? It appears that behind their religious zeal lay quite secular motives, inspired by the political aims the Kushan state had set itself with respect to Eastern Turkistan.[51]

Among the earliest Buddhist missionaries in China (Loyang) it seems that there was quite a large group from Western Turkistan. Two were Parthians (An Shih-kao and An Hsüan) ; three were Yüeh-chih (Chih Lou-chia-ch'ien—Lokakṣema ?, Chih Vao and Chih Liang) ; two were Soghdians (K'ang Meng-hsian and K'ang Chü, the last named coming from the K'ang-chu, (in the Russian literature, they are called "Kangyu").[52]

The most famous of these was the Parthian An Shih-kao. According to the very early tradition, he was a Parthian crown prince who abdicated in favour of his uncle and dedicated himself to a religious life.[53] It is quite possible that he came from Margiana.[54] All we know about him is that he undertook a journey to the East and in 148 settled in Loyang where he occupied himself with translations up to 170. He translated the Hīnayāna writings.[55] The Parthian An Shih-kao who went to Eastern Turkistan to preach Buddhism was not only a religious figure; he was also a great scholar and astronomer. According to the Chinese tradition, he was expert in the magic and astrology of the country of his birth, Parthia.[56] It follows then that the spread of Buddhism from Western Turkistan to China was from the first accompanied by a process of transmission of the cultural and scientific treasures developed by the Western Turkistan peoples.

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[48] A. von Gabain accepts without reservation the historicity of the mission in the year 2 B. C., but points out that it was unsuccessful (*Der Buddhismus in Zentralasien*, "Handbuch der Orientalistik", I, VIII, 2, Leiden-Koeln, 1961, p. 498).

[49] For other proofs of this premise see J. Brough, *Comments...*, p. 586.

[50] R. N. Frye, *Bukhara. The Medieval Achievement*, University of Oklahoma Press, 1965, p. 7.

[51] See J. Brough, *Comments...*, pp. 586-590, 596-599.

[52] B. A. Litvinsky, *Dzhunsky mogilnik i nekotoriye aspekty kanguyiskoi problemy*, SA, 1967, No. 2, pp. 29-37.

The second Parthian missionary, An Hsüan, was a merchant who arrived in Loyang in 181 and also became a translator there. He collaborated with An Shih-kao in the translation of one of the Mahāyāna texts. Also known for his translations was the Yüeh-chih Lokakṣema, a representative of the following generation

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53. Attempts to identify him with some member of the Parthian ruling house (as the son of Mithradates IV or of Pakores II ; see A. Waley, *An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting*, New York, 1958, p. 33) have failed. It has been logically suggested by scholars that he might have been a member of the ruling family of one of the smaller dominions (H. Maspero, *Essay sur le Taoisme*,—in "Mélanges posthumes", vol. II, Paris, 1950, p. 189 ; E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, pp. 32-33 ; N. G. Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia*, Chicago, 1938, p. 245).
54. H. Maspero, *Essay sur la Taoisme*, p. 189 (actually he is speaking of the district of Parthia bordering on Afghanistan) ; M. E. Masson, *Iz rabot Yuzhno-Turkmenistanskoi arkheologicheskoi kompleksnoi ekspeditsii Akademii nauk Turkmenskoi SSR v 1962 godu*,—in "Izvestiya AN Turkmenskoi SSR" (social sciences series), 1963, No. 3, p. 57.
55. A great many translations of Buddhist texts into the Chinese language (from three dozen to 176) have been ascribed to him. But in a catalogue drawn up at the end of the 4th century, he is mentioned as the author of 34 translations, 19 of which are preserved, and only 4 of these can be considered as having been unquestionably authored by him (Bunyiu Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhtst Tripitaka*, Oxford, 1883, cols 381-383, No. 4 ; P. C. Bagchi, *India and Central Asia* ; E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, pp. 32-34).
56. A. Waley, *Notes on Chinese Alchemy*, BSOS, vol. VI, pt 1, London, 1930, p. 23.

and adherent of the Mahâyâna doctrine. He arrived in Loyang twenty years after An Shih-kao. The belief is that the Mahāyāna was introduced into China or at least consolidated its position there in his time.

At the beginning of the 3rd century we again find Soghdians among the translators.[57]

Throughout the 3rd century the spread of Buddhism continued, thanks largely to the efforts of many men whose ancestors had migrated from Western Turkistan to neighbouring lands. One was Chih Ch'ien, also known as Chih Yüeh, grandson of a native of the land of the Yüeh-chih who had settled in Loyang. Another was the Soghdian K'ang Seng-hui, whose ancestors had migrated to India and whose merchant father had taken up residence in Loyang.[58] It was to this type of translator, born and bred outside his own country, that the famous Yüeh-chih Dharmarakṣa (who worked between A. D. 266 and 309) belonged. His birthplace was Tunhuang, where his ancestors had settled several generations earlier. Among his disciples he counted a Yüeh-chih and, evidently, a Soghdian.

The Parthian An Fa-ch'in engaged in translations from A.D. 281 to 306.[59] The famous fourth-century translator K'ang Seng-yuan was a Soghdian born in a foreign land and out of touch with the country of his fathers.[60] At the end of the 4th century there came to Chia from Ṭukhāristān (Tu-ho-lo) one by the name of Dharmanandin. He arrived in China in 384 and stayed there till 391, translating five works in the interim. Then he went back West. He is remembered as the translator of very important parts of the Hīnayāna scriptures.[61]

According to one calculation, among the translators engaged in rendering the Buddhist writings into Chinese, sometime before the end of the dynasty of the Western Chin, there were six or seven of Chinese and six of Indian origin as well as sixteen belonging to various Central Asian nationalities: six Yueh-chih, four Parthians, three Soghdians, two Kucheans and one Khotanese. Naturally, these

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57. B. Nanjio, *Catalogue*, cols 388-389, No. 18; E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China...*, pp. 34-36.
58. B. Nanjio, *Catalogue*, cols 388-389, No. 18; 390, No. 21; E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China...*, pp. 46-54.
59. B. Nanjio, *Catalogue*, cols 391-393, Nos. 23, 25; E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China...*, pp. 65-70.
60. E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China...*, pp. 102-103.
61. B. Nanjio, *Catalogue*, cols 404-405, No. 57, (also col. 397, No. 35); E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China...*, pp. 202-204, 246.

are only approximate figures, but they may be taken as an indication of the general trend[62]—the important role played by Central Asian Buddhists.

The large number of translators of the Buddhist writings who came from various parts of Central Asia.[63] obviously attests to the spread of Buddhism in the translators' land of origin—Central Asia.

In this connection the following fact is not without interest for us. Excavations at Taxila in 1914 brought to light a silver vessel containing a small golden casket in which there were fragments of bones and a silver scroll bearing a Kharoṣṭhī inscription. The building in which the find was made may have been erected in the middle of the 1st to middle of the 2nd century A.D.[64] The inscription is dated in the year 136 of the unknown era, and it bears wishes "for the bestowal of health on the great King, the King of Kings, the Son of the Heavens the Kuṣāṇa". It touches on the disposition of Buddhist reliquiae in the Bodhisattva "chapel" at Taxila owned by a certain Bactrian (bāhlīkena), resident in the town of Ṇoacha or Ṇoachaa, which cannot be exactly localised (somewhere in the area of Taxila or Bactria).[65]

The contents of the inscription show that the Bactrians were not only representatives of the Kushan administration, but also acted as zealots of the Buddhist religion, even in India.

Linguistic analysis of the Manichaean Parthian, Manichaean Soghdian and also Turkic Buddhist texts has produced highly interesting results.

As is known, the main language of the "sacred scripture" of the eastern Manichaean church was Middle Persian, but there were also Manichaean Parthian texts. The Soghdians copied these, accompanying them with a Soghdian version. Most of the Manichaean texts in the Central Asian langnages found in castern Turkistan were copies made by members of the Manichaean Soghdian communities ; this applies no less to the Manichaean Parthian texts. The Parthian language had been ousted quite early (evidently it ceased to be a spoken language by the 5th century A.D) and only persisted as a dead language in the eastern Manichaean church. That explains why the great majority of the Manichaean Parthian texts that have come down to us are characterised by the poverty of their vocabulary and monotony of their syntactical constructions and stylistic resources. But there is one Manichaean Parthian magical text from Eastern Turkistan which is an exception in that respect. In the opinion of W. B. Henning, the pubisher and interpreter of the text, it was written at a time and place when and where Parthian was the living language of the Manichaean communities—that is, either in Parthia proper or in some one of the regions immediately bordering on it, where the influence of the Parthian language was very strong and Manichaeism was disseminated by Parthian preachers. In this connection, Henning goes into the question of the spread of Manichaeism in Central Asia.

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[62] J. Brough, *Comments...*, p. 587. This scholar points out that certain Yüeh-chin translators may have come not from the land of the "Great Yüeh-chin", but from the milieu of the East Turkistan "Little Yüeh-chin" (*Comments* . , 606-607).

[63] We have not met with any evidence of the emigrants from Ferghana of whom A. von Gabain speaks (*Buddhistische Turkenmission*,—in "Asiatica", Festschrift Fr. Weller, Leipzig, 1954, p. 166). Nor are there any in the Nanjio catalogue to which she refers.

[64] S. Konow, *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions with the Exception of those of Aśoka*, (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum II, I), Calcutta, 1929, pp. 70-71.

[65] S. Konow, *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions...*, pp. 74-75, 77.

Mār Ammo, the founder of Central Asian Manichaeism, had made Parthian the official language of eastern Manichaeism. It is known that he preached successfully in Nishapur and Merv and then journeyed beyond Merv into the domains of the Kushans. He reached a region near Balkh and perhaps even Balkh itself. Later, with the spread of Manichaeism in the Central Asian interfluvial area, the Parthian language was replaced in the Manichaean church by the Soghdian language. W. B. Henning thinks this may have occurred in the second half of the 6th century A.D. But the notes that in Parthia itself, as in Merv and Balkh, the Parthian language continued to be used (as stated earlier, only as the language of the Manichaean church,-*B.L.*). Little is known, says Henning, about the history of the Manichaean church in Merv and Balkh, but the fact that strong Manichaean communities existed there for several centuries is beyond question.

This information about Manichaeism is highly important for an understanding of the situation in which the spread of Buddhism took place in Western Turkistan. The problem interests us, moreover, from still another aspect. While the above magical text published by Henning is in itself Manichaean, it reveals the strong influence of the literature of northern Buddhism.

W. B. Henning has established that even the oldest Manichaean Parthian poetical texts which may be ascribed to Mār Ammo himself, contain certain Indian Buddhist terms. In the Parthian texts written in the 4th century the number of such terms gradually increases. The magical text analysed by Henning reflects very close contacts between the Manichaeans and Buddhists in the frontier area between Iran and India. The text was most likely composed in the 6th century in Balkh or close by.[66] It is known that the Manichaean Parthian texts are sprinkled with such purely Buddhist terms as *s'qmn bwt* (Buddha Śākyamuni), *smn* (śramaṇa), *nybr'n* (Nirvāṇa), *byxs* (bhikṣu), *mytrg* (Maitreya), etc.

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[66] W. B. Henning, *Two Manichaean Magical Texts*, BSOAS, vol. XII, 1947, No. I, pp. 48-50 ; W. B. Henning, *Warucān-Sāh*, "The Journal of the Greater India Society", Calcutta, 1944, vol. XI, No. 2, pp. 87-90.

Similarly, the Manichaean Soghdian texts contain borrowed Buddhist terms and concepts associated with the Buddhist tradition.[67] That the Soghdians played an important role in preaching the Buddhist doctrine in both Western and Eastern Turkistan is indicated by the fact that the word "Bodhisattva" (Soghdian *pwtystp*) came into middle Persian, Uighur and Chinese from the Soghdian language and that it was by way of the Middle Persian (*bwt'sp*) that the Arabic Būdāsaf and Joasaph appeared in the western variant of the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat.[68] The role of the Soghdians is also corroborated by analysis of the Turkic Buddhist texts discovered in Eastern Turkistan. A. von Gabaian, who made a study of the texts, noted that "many of the basic terms in the Buddhism of the Turkic people are of Zoroastrian origin and they must have been borrowed from the west (i.e., Western Turkistan.-*B.L.*) through the medium of the Soghdians." Gabain rules out the possibility of this process having taken place in the east and believes that it was the result of contacts between the western Turkic peoples and the Soghdians in Western Turkistan,[69] although of course the role of the Soghdian diaspora cannot be excluded.

Facts have already been adduced to show what a strong effect the Western Turkistan Buddhist substratum had on eastern Manichaeism. Additional proof of the spread of Buddhism in Western Turkistan is afforded by the fact that western Manichaeism also evinced definite, though rudimentary, reflection sof the conceptions of Buddhism and the Buddha ;[70] these may have been due, at least in part, to the mediation of the Parthians.[71]

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67. J. P. Asmussen, *Xuāstvānīft...*, pp. 136-137. In this connection W. B. Henning wrote that it should be remembered that the Soghdians (or at least a large proportion of them) were Buddhists before the arrival of the Manichaean preachers in their midst (W. B. Henning, *Neue Materialien zur Geschichte des Manichaeismus*, ZDMG, Bd 90, Leipziz, 1936, No. 1, p. 5.
68. H. W. Bailey, *The Word "but" in Iranian*, BSOS, 1931, vol. VI, pt 2, pp. 281-282. Compare with W. B. Henning, *Sogdian Tales*, BSOAS, 1945, vol. XI, pt 3, p. 487. For a detailed study of this subject in the east and the west, see D. M. Lang, *The Wisdom of Balahvar : A Christian Legend of the Buddha*, London-New York, 1957, pp. 11-64.
69. A. von Gabain, *Buddhistische Turkenmission*, pp. 167-168. Also, A. von Gabain, *Der Buddhismus in Zentralasien*, p. 501.
70. J. P. Asmussen, *Xvāstvānīft...*, p. 136.
71. It is generally belived that the ideas of Buddhism to some extent influenced the philosophers known as Gnostics and were even accepted by them and through them by Mani himself. See D. M. Lang, *The Wisdom of Balahvar*, p. 24.

The linguistic data thus confirm the existence of a deep-rooted Buddhist religious tradition, an ancient "Buddhist background", so to say, among such Western Turkistan peoples as the Soghdians and the Parthians. Linguists likewise consider it indisputable that the facts show a relation with the territory as well as the ethnic communities of Western Turkistan, even though the texts analysed were found in Eastern Turkistan. It all fits together quite well, for, as J. P. Asmussen has noted, it corresponds to the historical facts and is certainly logical. And so we may say that the path of Manichaeism into Eastern Turkistan lay through Western Turkistan.[72] Later, too, Central Asia continued to be a stronghold of Manichaeism.[73]

The information gleaned from the written sources and linguistic analysis has been confirmed by the study of the archaeological monuments, especially those from right-bank Bactria. Such monuments are particularly abundant in the vicinity of Termez, or, more broadly, of the Surkhan Darya valley.

Let us consider some of the more important monuments.

The Airtam complex. In 1932 frontier guards came upon stone high-reliefs lying in the water near the bank of the Amu Darya, 17 km. above Termez, at a place called Airtam. One of the reliefs was shipped to Tashkent.[74] In 1933 M. E. Masson and in 1937 M. I. Vyazmitina conducted excavations at Airtam. This work led to the discovery of part of a building consisting of many chambers of a cult and auxiliary nature. The main building materials were pakhsa-clay blocks (for the foundation of the walls) and unbaked brick ; baked brick was rarely used. The building bore traces of numerous repairs and reconstructions. The shrine consisted of two parts : a sort of antechamber and, beyond that, a square cella. In the centre of the cella was a rectangular pedestal made of unbaked bricks stuccoed with white plaster. One corner was occupied by a three-quarter stone base ; in the other lay a stone reliquary that had fallen off its pedestal. There were also several fragments of alabaster statues lying about—folds of a garment, an ear with elongated lobe, pieces of a coiffure with the hair painted black, and so on. The antechamber included a pylon whose nucleus of clay blocks was faced with stone slabs.

Many questions came up in connection with these finds, among them that of the purpose of the antechamber, which was not altogether clarified. The stone reliefs mentioned earlier belonged in this antechamber, and it was here too that the other high reliefs were found—but more of that below.

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[72] J. P. Asmussen, *Xuāstvānīft...*, p. 136.

[73] A. Adam, *Manichaismus,*—in "Handbuch der Orientalistik", I, VIII, 2, Leiden-Koln, 1961, p. 118.

[74] M. E. Masson, *Nakhodka fragmenta Skulpturnogo karniza pervykh vekov n.e.*, Tashkent, 1933, pp. 11-16, figs 1-4.

Adjoining the temple were the living quarters and subsidiary premises, including a kitchen and storeroom. Evidently this was a Kushan period saṅghārāma. A "nameless king" coin was discovered in the sanctuary. That does not definitely date the complex, but it may be taken as an indication that it functioned in early Kushan times.[75]

G. A. Pugachenkova's recent excavations at Airtam (1964-1965) have not only established the stratigraphy of the buildings that antedated the Buddhist complex and clarified various details of its history ; they have also filled in the picture of the Buddhist stūpa at Airtam. This had a roughly rentangular stylobate, 9 metres broad and 1 metre high ; the sides were oriented on the cardinal points. The stūpa was made of square unbaked bricks. Upon the stylobate rested a cylindrical part of clay blocks preserved to a height of 2 metres, topped by more brickwork in what must have been a semi-spherical arrangement. The presence of bits of marl limestone all around suggests the possibility of stone revetting. It may well be that the stūpa and shrine were synchronous.[76]

The publication of the high reliefs which have come to be known as the "Airtam frieze" was accomplished by K. V. Trever. There are eight slabs (36-38 cm. and one about 50 cm. high, and 78-100 cm. long) covered with wonderful bust images of people surrounded by large acanthus leaves. The first of the slabs discovered has proved to be the most striking of the lot : it depicts three persons holding musical instruments. The corner figure of the harpist intently fingering her strings is particularly effective. S. F. Ol'dengurg has suggested

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75. M.E. Masson, *Skulptura Airtama*, "Iskusstvo", 1935, No. 2; M.I. Vyazmitina, *Raskopki na gorodishche Airtam*,—in "I Termezskaya arkheologicheskaya ekspeditsia", vol. II, Tashkent, 1945. During the latest excavations at Airtam in 1963-1964, a Kanishka coin was found, according to G. A. Pugachenkova in the brickwork of the walls of the Buddhist complex, which she dates on the basis of that coin (G. A. Pugachenkova, *Dve stupy na yuge Uzbekistana*, SA, 1967, No. 3, p. 262). In the list of coins from Airtam published by the same researcher, all five Kanishka coins found there are designated, however, as surface finds (G. A. Pugachenkova, *K stratigrafii novykh monetnykh nakhodok iz Severnoi Baktrii*, VDI, 1967, No. 3, p. 75, Nos. 10-14). What is more, in dating the complex Pugachenkova ignores the discovery of "nameless king" coins at the same site, yet the "nameless king", in the view she upholds, was none other than Kadphises I.

76. G. A. Pugachenkova, *Dve stupy..*, p. 262.

that the musicians of the Airtam frieze represent the pañcamahāśabda or Five Great Sounds of Indian mythology. G. A. Pugachenkova has submitted a different interpretation of the figures on the Airtam frieze, which she has explained as a reflection of the "Parinirvāṇa-jātaka". K. V. Trever has called attention to its resemblance to the work of the Gandhāra school and at the same time to some of the features that distinguish it from that school ; she is of the opinion that the Airtam frieze should be regarded as a specimen of the output of the local Bactrian school.[77] M. I. Vyazmitina reached almost the same conclusion several years later ; she has pointed up a number of parallels with the Mathurā school and called the Airtam frieze "an example of one of the lolal schools of Kushan art which imbibed elements of Hellenistic and Indian art, but subjected these to distinctive treatment".[78]

Now, with the appearance of new publications on Gandhāran art,[79] the discovery of numerous Gandhāran art monuments on the territory of Afghanistan, including Bactria, and last but not least the establishment of the existence of a Bactrian art school, all the above conclusions require careful verification.

The spread of Buddhism and proliferation of Indian, especially Buddhist, art in Bactria were interconnected but by no means parallel or identical processes. The existence in Bactria of a great and highly viable school of local Bactrian art, brilliantly exemplified at Khalchayan, must have acted as a kind of barrier in the beginning. Along with the spread of Buddhist art, this local Bactrian school continued to thrive. D. Schlumberger notes, for example, that the sculptures at Surkh Kotal are linked with the monuments of Gandhāra and Mathurā by Greek or Iranian rather than Indian ties. "This monument", he said, "was as yet untouched by the Buddhist-inspired Indian Influence which was later to make such phenomenal headway in Central Asia and the Far East."[80] And yet, no more than two kilometres from the Surkh Kotal acropolis and probably synchronous with it, there stood a Buddhist monument which had obviously once contained Buddhist images ; its architectural decor, capitals and bases were identically the same as the above acropolis.[81]

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[77] K. V. Trever, *Pamyatniki Greko-baktriyskogo iskusstva*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1940, pp. 149-158 ; G. A. Pugachenkova, L. I. Rempel, *Istoriya iskusstv Uzbekistana s drevneishikh vremyon do serediny devyatnadtsatogo veka*, Moscow, 1965, pp. 76-77.

[78] M. I. Vyazmitina, *Raskopki na gorodishche Airtam*, pp. 30-31.

[79] In particular see H. Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, New York, 1957 ; J. Marshall, *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, Cambridge, 1960 ; also the numerous works of B. Rowland ; corresponding sections in : J. M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans* ; and many others.

[80] D. Schlumberger, *Descendants non-méditerranéens de l'art grec*,—in "Syria", vol. XXXVII, 1960, pp. 146-147, 159-60.

This territorial proximity is symbolical, for it was on Bactrian soil that Gandhāran and the later Indo-Buddhist and local Bactrian schools of art all merged. the process was a highly complicated, contradictory and many-sided one. All we can say is that Gandhāran art itself, as D. Schlumberger has brilliantly demonstrated, would have been impossible without the Graeco-Bactrian, or more broadly, the Graeco-Iranian contribution.[82] Schlumberger notes in this connection that the Buddhist art of Kushan times in Gandhāra and non-Buddhist art of the same period in Bactria were twin brothers.[83] More recent discoveries have reconfirmed the significance of the Bactrian and Graeco-Bactrian element in Gandhāran art. The discoveries of the French archeological expedition at Ai-Khanum have told us still more about the extent of the influence Hellenistic culture exerted in Bactria.[84] Khalchayan[85] has revealed to us the features of Bactrian art at the beginning of the Christian era (in the opinion of G. A. Pugachenkova, the second or third quarter of the 1st century B.C.,[86] but we think the 1st or 2nd centuries A.D. a much more likely date.[87]

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[81] D. Schlumberger, *Descendants non-méditerranéens...*, pp. 148-149 ; D. Schlumberger, *The Excavations at Surkh Kotal and the Problem of Hellenism in Bactria and India*, reprinted from "Proceedings of the British Academy", vol. XLVII, 1964, pp. 90-91.

[82] D. Schlumberger, *Descendants...*, pp. 160-164.

[83] D. Schlumberger, *The Excavations at Surkh Kotal...*, p. 91.

[84] D. Schlumberger, *Ai Khanoum, une ville hellenistique en Afghanistan,*—in "Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Comptes Rendus", 1965, Janvier-Juin, Paris, 1966, pp. 36-46 ; P. Bernard, *Premiere campagne de fouilles d'Ai Khanoum,*—in "Académie des isnscriptions et belles-lettres, Comptes Rendus", 1966, Janvier-Mars, Paris, 1966, pp. 127-133, P. Bernard, *Deuxieme campagne de fouilles d'Ai Khanoum en Bactriane,*—in "Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Comptes Rendus", 1967, Avril-Juin, Paris, 1967, pp. 306-327 ; G. A. Koshelenko, R. N. Munchaev, *Arkheologicheskaya ekspeditsiya v Afganistane*, "Vestnik AN SSR", 1966, No. 6, pp. 64-68.

[85] G. A. Pugachenkova, *Skulputra Khalchayana*, "Iskusstvo"' 1964, No. 6 ; G. A. Pugachenkova, *Khalchayan, K probleme khudoznestvennoi kultury Severnoi Baktrii*, Tashkent, 1966.

[86] G. A. Pugachenkova, *Khalchayan...*, p. 190.

[87] This date, in our opinion, corresponds more closely to the character of all the material unearthed here.

How did the art of Bactria or specifically Ṭukhāristān develop after Surkh Kotal ? We can only guess at the complexity of the processes of interaction between Bactrian art and the schools associated with Buddhism as well as the art of the nomad peoples whose domains in the 4th to 6th centuries took in Ṭukhāristān. The wide diffusion of Buddhist doctrine in early medieval Ṭukhāristān must have encouraged an even deeper acceptance of Buddhist art than before. At the same time it is probable that the non-Buddhist trend persisted even though its sphere of application may have grown smaller. Balalyk-tepe unfolds to our gaze a vivid picture[88] of the zenith of secular non-Buddhist art rooted in the local Bactrian art tradition.

In Termez proper, systematic work has been in progress for some time at Kara-Tepe, the Buddhist cave monastery of the 1st to 3rd centuries A.D. This is the only cave complex of a plainly Buddhist nature in Western Turkistan.[89] The excavation of the site was launched in 1937 by E. G. Pchelina, and B. Y. Stavisky has been conducting systematic diggings there ever since 1961.[90]

The Kara-Tepe elevation lies north-west of Old Termez, within the walls of medieval Termez and alongside its north-western gates. It is a natural sandstone elevation formed by two hills crowned by three irregular peaks.

Detailed reports have been published of the archeological work conducted there in 1937 and 1961-1962. Only preliminary communications have appeared on the excavating done since, but B. Y. Stavisky has been kind enough to give us this summary of the results of the work at Kara-Tepe :

"The results of the study of Kara-Tepe in Old Termez show that a large Buddhist religious centre existed on this big three-headed hill in Kushan Termez at the time of Kanishka and his successors (possibly as early as the time of Vima Kadphises). Excavation of the outer rim of the southern peak, in the shape of a horse-shoe, has brought to light eight groups of caves which are easily divided into two distinct types. Judging by the size of the southern peak, 20 to 25 such cave groups hewn in the sandstone must have hugged its outer rim. The first tpye were the cave temples, consisting of a closed shrine with vaulted processional corridors running around it on all four sides. Some of these temples also had lateral storerooms. Each temple had two exits and near one of these was the cave cell of the resident monk. The exits were set in arched recesses and led to the courtyard hugging the slope. Along the perimeter of the courtyard stretched the īwān with columns. Pieces of stone bases for the wooden columns and in some cases the bases themselves were preserved. Adjoining the courtyard were the surface temples and other structures made of large unbaked square bricks. The central part of the courtyards, lying 0.6 of a metre to 1 metre below the īwāns, have not been excavated as yet.

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[88] L. I. Albaum, *Balalyk-tepe*, Tashkent, 1960.

[89] See T. V. Grek, E. G. Pchelina, B. Y. Stavisky, *Kara-Tepe—buddiysky peshcherny manostyr v Starom Termeze. Osnovniye itogi rabot* 1937, 1961-1962 *godov i indiyskiye nadpisi na keramike*, Moscow, 1964 (includes reserences to previous publications). Later reports: B. Y. Stavisky, *Noviye danniye o Kara-Tepe*, in "Tezisy dokladov nauchnoi sessii posvyashchonnoi itogam raboty Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha za 1965 gcd", Moscow-Leningrad, 1966, pp. 23-24. For information on the numerous Buddhist cave complexes in Afghanistan and northern India, see "Haibak and Kashmir-Smast. Buddhist Cave-Temples in Afghanistan and Pakistan Surveyed in 1960", Ed. S. Mizuno, Kyoto, 1962, pp. 85-103.

[90] For data on the finds see the texts by B. Y. Stavisky quoted below and also his paper in the volume "Kara-Tepe".

"The designation of the second type of cave premises, which have not been as thoroughly studied thus far, is not clear. Each group of this type consisted of a long vaulted corridor that either terminated in an elbow-bend or spread out into wide enclosures.

"The walls of the anterior part of cave temples, the courtyards and the cells often bear traces of paintings. In the corridors encircling the shrines and the cells, one finds the remains of geometrical designs ; in the īwāns—mostly traces of continuous red paint. At the entrance to a surface temple in one of the complexes which was excavated in 1937, a section was uncovered bearing subject painting. The lower part depicts a group of standing people, probably gift-bearers. A large niche which once held a Buddhist statue was cleared in 1966 in the courtyard of another complex, and its walls were found to be covered with paintings in geometrical designs. Judging by the fragments of stone reliefs found in the cave temples, the cave shrines were originally decorated with stone (marl limestone) reliefs and perhaps statues. In the courtyards, the fragments discovered tell us that *ganch* (gypsum) statues and may be stūpas with platforms faced with triangular slabs of stone once stood there. The diggings have brought to light several such slabs with a smooth upper surface and one slab bearing a painting in relief of the capital of a decorative pilaster. Part of the base and half of such a pilaster ornamented with rectangular motifs were also found.

"The fragments of reliefs suggest pictures of arcades with people, tigers (or lions), elephant-like *makara*, acanthus leaves and other motifs of Gandhāran art. The details of this decorative pilaster resemble the finds in the temples at Surkh Kotal and the 'platform of statues'. As for the capital with its double-tier composition of a tiger clawing two zebus in the upper tier, and figure of a man surrounded by acanthus foliage below—this resembles the capitals at Surkh Kotal and Sham-kala at Baglan, the data on which have been published by B. Dagens in MDAFA xix. Taken all together, these capitals form a characteristic group of Kushan-period 'Bactrian' capitals quite distinct from the Gandhāran type.

"The diggings at Kara-Tepe have also brought to light pieces of decorative 'chatra' made of marl limestone and then painted over and gilded, as well as ganch models of these Buddhist cult objects. Other finds include ceramic and stone lids ornamented with lotus flowers, clay lamps, red engobe vessels, pottery with miniature pressed patterns, ceramic replicas of Roman dishware, and Vima Kadphises (?), Kanishka and Vasudeva copper coins.

"Particular note must be made of the fragments of clay vessels bearing inscriptions in Brāhmī, Kharoṣṭhī and 'Kushan script' (in the Bactrian language). Some have inscriptions in two languages, as Brāhmī and the 'Kushan script'. The inscriptions are in the nature of dedications of gifts and often give the name of the donors, apparently members of the Buddhist community of Kushan Termez. Some of these inscriptions have been published by T. V. Grek in the volume 'Kara-Tepe. I'. They are discussed in the articles by V. A. Idvshitz and J. Harmatta for 'Kara-Tepe. II'. The discovery in 1966 of a bilingual inscription, in Brāhmī and 'Kushan script', merits special consideration. This inscription has been read by T. V. Grek and V. A. Livshitz, who have found in it a reference to Buddhaśira, the 'preacher of the dharma'. It will be published in 'Kara-Tepe. III'.

"There are drawings and graffiti inscriptions scratched on the walls of one of the cave temples, which belong to a later period, after the Buddhist shrines at Kara-Tepe had gone into decline. The inscriptions are in the nature of 'a visitors list', giving the names of the visitors and sometimes the dates of their visit. Some are of Western Turkistan origin, and these have been published by V. G. Lukonin in 'Kara-Tepe. II'; others are Indian, and will be published by T. V. Grek in 'Kara-Tepe. III'. But the greater part are Bactrian inscriptions, pnblished by V. A. Livshitz and J. Harmatta in 'Kara-Tepe. II'. The Western Turkistan inscriptions tell us that somewhere around A. D. 380 (in V. G. Lukonin's estimate) or perhaps a century earlier (according to W. B. Henning) an important Sassanian official visited the Kara-Tepe temple. This visit, as well as the decline of the temple, may have some connection with the capture of Termez by a Sassanian army. Perhaps a connection can also be drawn between its capture and the erection of the fire altar discovered during the 1966 diggings in the niche for a Buddhist statue mentioned before as standing in the courtyard of one of the Kara-Tepe temple complexes".

In the southwestern part of Old Termez there are the ruins of what looks like a tower. It was made of square unbaked bricks laid on with a clay solution. The tower part rests on a rectangular brick foundation (22 x 16 x 1.4 metres). The tower is situated in its northern part. From the foundation rises a round section 13 metres high and 14.5 metres in diameter, above which there once towered the spherical top of the structure.

Zurmala, as this monument is called, was identified as a Buddhist stūpa (and correctly so, it appears) by A. S. Strelkov as early as 1927. Originally the stūpa was faced, for stone fragments and the rubble of baked bricks were found lying nearby, as was the stone bas relief with a representation of a Boddhisattva.[91]

Other stone sculptures of the Buddhist sphere have also been found at Termez. A. S. Strelkov published a large fragment (29 cm. in height) of a small statue of the seated Buddha and part of the figurine of a Bodhisattva holding a lotus flower in his flexed right hand. As he wrote at the time, the statue of the Buddha may be considered to show the influence of Gandhāran art.[92]

The photographs of the finds support Strelkov's appraisal. The Buddha, seated in padmāsana on a smooth low pedestal edged along the top by several grooves, is in abhaya mudrā (reassurance). The pose, the position of the hands, the kind of pedestal, and above all the draping of the garment covering his feet—all have perfect parallels in Gandhāran sculpture.[93] We might add that a similar image of the Buddha is encountered as the central unit of large sculptural (or high relief) compositions.

B. Y. Stavisky[94] and G. A. Pugachenkova[95] have published a wonderful stone high relief with a two-tier composition of Buddhist content—large Buddha figures on pedestals, in the padmāsana attitude, the hands in dhyāna mudrā (gesture of meditation) ; the kneeling or standing figures stationed beside or behind the Buddha figures are executed on a smaller scale. Stavisky has called this monument "a relief of scenes from the life of the Buddha". Pugachenkova has seen fit to identify the large figures as Bodhisattvas and interpret the whole scene as a reproduction of the conversion of the ascetics in the Benares forest, but this interpretation seems untenable to us for a number of reasons. What is more likely is that the relief illustrates a subject popular in Gandhāran sculpture, namely, the visit of the deities to the Buddha after his Enlightenment. On his left is a kneeling Indra, on his right Brahmā, and then come the deities of lesser rank. The scene is repeated with slight alterations. But we do not rule out another hypothesis—

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[91] A. Strelkov, *Zurmala na Katta-Tyupe okolo Termeza,*—in "Kultura Vostoka, I", Moscow, 1927, pp. 27-30 ; G. A. Pugachenkova, *Dve stupy...*, pp. 257-261.

[92] A. Strelkov, *Doislamskiye pamyatniki Drevnego Termeza,*—in "Kultura Vostoka. Sbornik Muzeya vostochnykh kultur. II", Moscow, 1928, pp. 41-44, figs. 22-23.

[93] H. Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, pl. XI/3, 4 ; XII/3, 4 et seq.

[94] B. Y. Stavisky, *Kara-Tepe*, pp. 60-61, 1964, fig. 28.

[95] G. A. Pugachenkova, L. I. Rempel, *Istoriya iskusstv Uzbekistana...*, pp. 74-76.

namely, that the upper tier portrays the visit of Indra and his harpist to the Buddha in Indraśāla cave.[96]

Another Buddhist monument referable to the Kushan period was found in 1967 near Dalverzin-tepe in the course of the economic development work in the north-eastern part of Surkhan Darya Region. It has been dated, according to the published material, by the coins of Kadphises I and II unearthed there. It has also yielded a large number of sculptures, some of which are clearly representations of Buddhist mythological characters while others are secular in content. Of the latter G.A. Pugachenkova has said that "while they are portraits, and individualised ones at that, the facial features are treated in such a conventional manner as to conceal character and inner make-up. This is the beginning of the idealisation of the characters, despite the unquestionable individuality of the faces as such."[97]

The spread of Buddhism in Soghd is reflected in such landmarks as the cult structure in the Sanazar Valley which is said to have housed large bronze statues of the Buddha surrounded by bronze figures of seated lions. The sole remaining figure of a lion and the Chinese mirror with an inner circle from arcs ("ch'ing pai" or "ming kuang" type mirrors) found there justify us in considering the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. (as suggested by L.I. Albaum) to be the probable date of this monument.[98]

The archaeological monuments show the spread of Buddhism to Khorezm. In the 1st centuries A.D., according to S. P. Tolstov, "the Indo-Buddhist influence

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[96] H. Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, pp. 68, 87-91 (with further bibliographical lists and figs 70-73, 129-136). The treatment of Indra in fig. 134 and the kneeling figure on the left of the Termez relief is practically identical.

[97] G. A. Pugachenkova, *K probleme kushanskogo iskusstva*,—in "Problemy arkheologii Srednei Azii. Tezisy dokladov i soobshcheny k soveshchaniyu po arkheologii Srednei Azii" (1-7 April, 1968), Leningrad, 1968, pp. 43-44.

[98] L. I. Albaum, *Buddiysky khram v doline Sanazara*, DAN UzSSR, 1955, No.8, pp. 57-60, figs 1-3. On the date of these mirrors see, A. Bulling, *The Decoration af Mirrors of the Han Period. A Chronology*, Ascona, 1955, pp. 26-32. We consider Stavisky's doubts re this data (see B. Y. Stavisky, *Srednayaya-Aziya, Indiy, Rim*, pp. 175-176) unfounded, and find it quite impossible to accept the alternative he suggests—7th-8th centuries (B. Y. Stavisky, *Nekotoriye voprosy istorii buddizma v Seredney Azii (Iz itogov raskopok Kara-Tepe, buddiyskogo peshchernogo monastyrya v Starom Termeze*,—in "Doklady po etnografii", fasc. I (4), Leningrad, 1965, p.28).

(in Khorezm) resulted in the appearance of miniature reproductions of Indian sanctuaries or 'stūpas' and in the portrayal of monkeys, a practice foreign to Khorezmian tradition" ; statuettes of seated male nudes "also take us into the realm of Buddhist imagery".[99]

Yet it is far from established that the above are indisputably Buddhist monuments.[100] Extensive and thorough as the excavations conducted in Khorezm have been, they have not produced any other evidences to date. We may therefore conclude that the influence of Buddhism on Khorezmian culture was on the whole insignificant as far as we can now see.

How is this wide dispersion of Buddhism in Western Turkistan during the first centuries A.D. to be explained ? This is a very difficult question and we do not have sufficient information at our disposal yet to answer it. We have already had occasion to note that the southern regions of Western Turkistan and North India entered into one and the same state formations from the Achaemenian era onwards, and often for considerable stretches of time ; close economic, cultural and religious contacts naturally resulted between these regions.[101] This is the context in which the spread of Buddhism must be considered, and not as an isolated phenomenon. At the same time Buddhism could only have spread in Western Turkistan under the condition that it corresponded in character to the distinct requirements of Western Turkistan society.

Of course, many other factors may have contributed to the spread of Buddhism in Western Turkistan. Buddhism's remarkable adaptability to local conditions was of signal importance, no doubt. It incorporated several Western Turkistan cults. In this respect, its only rival in Western Turkistan was Manichaeism.[102]

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[99] S. P. Tolstov, *Po sledam drevne-khorezmiyskoi tsivilizatsii*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1948, p. 160 ; B. Y. Stavisky, *Srednayaya Aziya, Indiya, Rim*, p. 176, fig. 24.

[100] V. M. Masson, *Khorezm i kushany*, EV, XVII, Moscow-Leningrad, 1966, p. 83.

[101] B. A. Litvinsky, *Tadzhikistan i Indiya* (*Primery drevnikh svyazei i kontaktov*)—in "Indiya v drevnosti", Moscow, 1964, p. 158 ; B. A. Litvinsky, *Sredneaziatskiye narody i rasprostraneniye buddizma*—in "Istoriya, arkheologiya i etnografiya Srednei Azii", Moscow, 1968, pp. 128-135.

[102] J. P. Asmussen, *Xuāstvānīft*, p. 11 ; W. B. Henning, *The Murder of the Magi*, pp. 136-137 ; W. B. Henning, *Two Manichaean Magical Texts*, BSOAS, 1947, vol. XII, No. 1, p. 39.

What was the position of Buddhism in Western Turkistan in the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D.? An-Nadīm tells us in "Fihrist" that "the first person, aside from the Samanians (i.e., Buddhists.—*B.L.*) to settle in Mā-warā, al-Nahr was a Manichaean".[103] As you know, the "Fihrist" was composed in 987-988, and although its author drew on the Arabian sources for his history of Manichaeism, he utilised the old Manichaean compositions,[104] and hence the great authenticity of an-Nadīm's reports. From the above source it follows that at the very time that Manichaeism appeared in Western Turkistan, that is, in the second half of the 3rd century, Buddhism was already widespread there. This is confirmed by other sources.

Proceeding from the inscriptions of a Zoroastrian character at Kara-Tepe, J. Harmatta has advanced the hypothesis that after the Sassanian conquest and during the religious repressions under Varahran II (about A.D. 275), the Buddhist monastery at Kara-Tepe was devastated and then converted into a Zoroastrian shrine.[105] It must be said, however, that his hypothesis is in need of further substantiation.

J. Harmatta considers it likely that the word *śmny* ("Buddhist monks") in the inscription of Kartīr, chief mobadh of Varahran II at Ka'ba-yi Zartust ("and the teaching of Ahriman and the demons disappeared from the country and was banished; Jews, Buddhists, Brahmins, Nazareans and Christians, Mugdags and Manichaeans, inside the country were all destroyed and the idols were broken, and the homes of demons were devastated and turned into places of worship and the abode of the gods") relates it chiefly to the Bactrian Buddhists.[106] One must not take the words in this inscription to be a statement of accomplished deeds, as does J. Harmatta[107]; in a way they were only a programme, and the reality, as J.

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[103] G. Flügel, Mani, *seine Lehre und seine Schriften. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Manichaismus*, Leipzig, 1862, pp. 76, 105; A. M. Belenitsky, *Voprosy ideologii i kultov Sogda po materialam pendzhikentskikh khramov*,—in "Zhivopis drevnego Pendzhikenta", Moscow, 1954, p. 38.

[104] K. Kessler, Mani, *Forchungen über die manichaische Religion*, Bd I, Berlin, 1889, pp. 331-338; S. H. Taqizadeh, W. B. Henning, *The Dates of Mani's Life*, AM, N.S. 1957, vol. vi, pt. i, p. 120.

[105] J. Harmatta, *K interpretatsii nadpisei iz Kara-Tepe*,—in "Kara-Tepe, II" (now in press).

[106] For the translation of this piece, also see W. B. Henning, *Mitteliranisch*, —in "Handbuch der Orientalistik", I, IV, I, *Linguistik*, Leiden-Koln, 1958, p. 102; V. G. Lukonin, *Kartir i mani*, VDI, 1966, No. 3, p. 75.

[107] J. Harmatta, *K interpretatsii nadpisei...*

Asmussen concludes on the basis of many facts, differed widely from it : "Therefore it remains uncertain to how high a degree the Great King or the Government was involved in the project planned by Kartīr".[108]

Buddhism was also widespread in other eastern regions, among them Merv, which were situated much nearer to the centres of the Sassanian state (the inscription stresses "inside the country").[109] As far as Bactria is concerned, the implementation of such a policy would certainly have led to a clash with the people at large.

It is also important to note that in his reconstructions J. Harmatta proceeds from the "Little" Kushan chronology.[110] That is not the only determinative chronology, however. If the ideas of R. Gobl[111] and E. V. Zeymal on Kushan chronology and those of V. G. Lukonin on the chronology of the Kushan-Sassanian coins are correct, then, in the period under consideration by Harmatta Termez must have belonged to the Kushan state and the measures outlined in Kartīr's inscriptions would not have applied to it at all.

For a somewhat later period—the 4th century A.D.—we have the evidence of a Chinese religious (Buddhist) text dated 383 which states that the Buddha knew the language of Ṭukhāristān better than its native inhabitants.[112]

Buddhism made great headway in Margiana in the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D., as the Buddhist shrine discovered in Ancient Merv at the site of Gyaur-Kala witnesses. There was a stūpa in this sanctuary. It has been described by its immediate excavator, G. A. Koshelenko, as follows :

"In the foundation of the stūpa is a bulky platform constructed of sun-dried bricks 45 x 45 x 12 centimetres in size. The platform is nearly square, its sides are oriented almost strictly according to the cardinal points. Its dimensions are 13·3 metres in N-S direction and 13 metres in W-E direction. The whole central part of the platform is occupied by a bulky round tower, constructed also of sun-dried bricks of the same dimensions. From the structural point of view the platform and the tower form an independent whole. The outer surface of the tower was covered with a coat of clay plaster and then it was painted red.[113]

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[108] J. P. Asmussen, *Xuāstvānīft...*, p. 28.

[109] These events, by the way, are not taken into account by M. E. Masson in his deliberations on the history of Buddhism in Margiana.

[110] For the arguments in its favour, see the works of J. Harmatta ; also see W. B. Henning, *The Choresmian Documents*, AM N.S., London, 1965, vol. xi, pt. 2, p. 170.

[111] For Gobl's reasons for moving the dates of the "Great Kushans" (Kanishka is dated by him as A.D. 225-266, Vasudeva II ± 325-356, and the Kushan-Sassanidae accordingly after 356) see R. Gobl, *Zwei neue Termini...*, pp. 142-151 ; R. Gobl, *Die drei Versionen der Kaniska-Inschrift von Surkh Kotal*, Wien, 1965, pp. 22-24

[112] F. W. K. Müller, *Toxri und Küisan*, (*Kusan*) SPAW, Philosophisch-historische Klasse xxvii, Berlin, 1918, p. 575.

"In the N-W and N-E corners of the platform there are remains of two symmetrically arranged columns constructed of pieces of sun-dried bricks and coverd with a cast of clay plaster.[114] The diameters of the columns are 160 cm. and 180 cm. From the north stairs lead to the platform, flanked by two small protrusions 105 cm. in breadth, rising to 1·55 cm. from the front surface of the wall. At the front and side borders of these protrusions thin remainders of red and black paintings were preserved. The stairs above are 4·10 metres wide, decreasing downwards to 2 90 metres. The staircase is not yet cleaned completely, but 24 steps have already been dug up so far and as a result of the excavations it can be said that the steps continue further down. The total height of the 24 steps is 3·3 metres and the length of the excavated part of the staircase is 6·3 metres. The height of certain steps is 10 to 15 cm. and the breadth of their upper surface 20 to 30 cm. The steps are covered with a thick layer of clay coating, on which traces of white and red paint can be seen.

"In front of the northern facade of the building stood a gigantic statue of of the Buddha. In the course of excavations so far only its head has been dug out, resting on a stone structure of the Parthian period of construction, when the staircase was covered by a thick stone pavement. Consequently, the statue was most likely erected in the Parthian period.

"The head was lying at a distance of 50 to 55 centimetres to the west of the staircase. Its dimensions are : height 75 cm., breadth at the middle 45 cm. The head is damaged considerably, viz. : the uṣṇiṣa is missing, and in its place only a cavity remains ; the nose and left side of the forehead are also damaged, and the layer of paint has come off the chin ; the lips are damaged, the paint is almost completely missing from the right eye, and on the left eye the layer of paint has come off from the clay base and stained the face ; a considerable part of the hair is missing. The surface of the head is marred by deep cracks in several places.

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[113] Note by A. G. Koshelenko : "The colours recommended in the Vinayapiṭaka for the painting of a stūpa are red, black, and white. See A. Bareau, *La Construction et le culte des stupa d'apres les Vinayapiṭaka*, BEFEO, vol. 50, fasc. 2, 1962."

[114] Note by A. G. Koshelenko : "The position of the columns is not at all usual, although it is possible (for example on the reliefs of Mathurā. See M. Benisti, *Etude sur le stupa dans l'Inde ancienne*, BEFEO, vol. 50, fasc. I, 1960. pl. xiii). More frequently the columns are placed at the entrance, and on them there are representations of sacred animals, mostly elephants and lions, See A. Bareau, *La construction et le culte des stupa...*, p. 239 ; M. Benisti, *Etude sur le stupa...*, p. 41 ; G. Combaz, *L'evolution du stupa en Asie*, vol. ii, Bruxelles, 1933, p. 212".

"The head was made of greyish-brown clay with a very high content of straw. We can clearly discern three layers of clay, one on another. There is no trace of a wooden skeleton but we can find remains of reed with a thickness of 0.7 to 0.9 cm. only in the lowest layer. All the basic parts of the head were made of clay by the sculptural method and the clay was covered with a thin coating of alabaster on a base of fabric. The hair was not pasted up in one piece but in small locks pressed in a mould. They were attached to the head and to each other with liquid clay. The size of each lock was 3 by 3.5 cm. The locks were painted blue ; in the lower part of the coiffure traces of pink colour were also preserved. The surface of the face was covered with three successive layers of colour—pink, yellow and red. This was obviously the result of the two repairs the statue underwent. The brows were painted black, the eyes blue, and the lips bright red."

An extremely interesting vase with polychrome painting was found near the staircase of the stūpa. It has been dated by Koshelenko in the 4th or 5th centuries A. D. Preserved inside the vase was the remnant of a manuscript. According to the excavation findings, the Buddha's head and vase containing the manuscript were buried in the 5th or 6th centuries. M. E. Masson, the head of the expedition, links this either with the destruction of the stūpa by an earthquake in the middle of the 5th century or with the deliberate despoilage of the stūpa at about this time.[115]

In the opinion of M. E. Masson, the monument came into existence sometime between the second half of the 1st century and 2nd century A.D. Unfortunately, the archeological and numismatic material on which this dating is based has not been cited in the existing publications. Koshelenko on the whole agrees with this dating. He has referred the head of the statue to the 2nd century—most likely the first half of that century.[116] G. A. Pugachenkova also places the creation of the Merv stūpa at circa 2nd century A.D.[117] And yet from the very first this dating has seemed dubious, for the Buddha head must belong considerably later. In truth, further diggings by the Joint South Turkmenian Archeological Expedition revealed that the platform of the stūpa, if one goes by the coin finds, was laid at the time of Śāpuhr I (241-272), whereas the spherical part was erected still latter, under Śāpuhr II (309-379)[118]. If these dates are correct we may suppose that the persecution of the Buddhists organised by Kartīr was the reason for the interruption in the construction of the stūpa.

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[115] G. Koshelenko, *The Beginning...*, pp. 175-178 (minor style corrections have been made in the above-cited fragment from this work, published in English). Also see M. E. Masson, *Iz rabot...*, pp. 51-56 ; G. A. Koshelenko, *Kultura Parfii*, pp. 95-96 ; G. A. Koshelenko, *Unikalnaya vaza iz Merva*, VDI, 1966, No. 1, pp. 92-105.

[116] G. Koshelenko, *The Beginning...*, pp. 179-180.

[117] G. A. Pugachenkova, *Dve stupa...*, p. 263.

Various opinions have been broached in the literature on the position of Buddhism in Western Turkistan after the Kushan era. A.M. Belenitsky says, for instance : "The position of an official religion Buddhism occupied in the Kushan state must have led to at least its external transformation. But the same circumstance was probably also the reason why, when state support was withdrawn due to the changing political situation in Western Turkistan attendant on the rise of first the Ephthalite and then the Turkic states, Buddhism rapidly declined"[119]. Here the decline of Buddhism is tied up with the rise of the Ephthalites and Turks to power. A. von Gabain, on the other hand, thinks this applies only to Soghd where, in her words, "not until the beginning of the 7th century was Buddhism definitely superseded by Manichaeism and a reinvigorated fire cult."[120] Finally, we have M.E. Masson's attempt to tie up the position Buddhism reached in Samarkand with the intensification "by the end of the 5th century of the activities of the Persian and Soghdian merchants of Zoroastrian faith, whose commercial rivalry with the Indian merchants trading with China led to the gradual but by no means peaceful expulsion of Buddhism from certain parts of Soghd and the adjacent countries" ; Masson also suggests that a similar situation developed in Merv and that the Mervians staged the "despoilage of the local stūpa". Masson sees the proof of this hypothesis in the fact that a much mutilated head that had been broken off from a marble statue of the Buddha was found "in an ancient badrab" (cesspool) into which it had been thrown, in the Tailyak village near Samarkand[121]. The date of the badrab is not given, nor is any information offered as to the age of the marble statue, thus invalidating the whole argument. The vulnerable thing about this conception is also its central postulate : in the 5th to 7th centuries the Western Turkistan Buddhists were for the most part not emigrants from India at all ; they were local people[122]. What is more, it is quite wrong to equate the religious and political situation in Merv and in Samarkand.

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118. V. I. Sarianidi, Z. I. Usmanova, *Yuzhno-Turkmenistanskoi arkheologicheskoi kompleksnoi ekspeditsii dvadtsat let*, SA, 1967, No. 1, p. 316.
119. A. M. Belhenitsky, *Voprosy ideologii...*, p. 38.
120. A. von Gabain, *Der Buddhismus in Zentralasien*, p. 501.
121. M. E. Masson, *Iz rabot...*, p. 56.
122. It follows from the above accounts that the Buddhist religion had adepts

What factual meterial have we to go on in passing judgments on this question ?

From the middle of the 5th century to the 60's of the 6th century, a large part of Western Turkistan was incorporated in the Ephthalite state, which embraced a number of neighbouring countries. Sung-Yun (519 A.D.) had this to say about the Ephthalites of Badakhshan : "The majority of them do not believe in the Buddha". Of the Ephthalites of Gandhāra he said that they did not believe in the Buddha at all. Comparing what Sung Yun and other sources have to tell us about the religious affiliations of Central Asia, the Japanese scholar K. Enoki concludes that the Ephthalites themselve were not adherents of the Buddhist faith. As for the reports in Sui-shu and Pei-shih on the abundance of Buddhist monasteries and stūpas in the Ephthalite capital, he explains these as a reflection of the religious affiliations of a specific section of the local population[123]. A more complicated theory on the relation of the Ephthalites to Buddhism has been advanced by A. Herrmann ; he has ventured the opinion that the Ephthalites were not Buddhists to begin with, but tolerated the preaching of that religion, and then later, after the defeat of the Ephthalite state by the Turks, a small Ephthalite dominion arose with its centre at Himotala whose rulers adopted Buddhism in order to strengthen their position in the fight against the Turks. Much the same view is taken by A. von Gabain[124].

It is hardly proper to ignore the reports on the religious policy of the Ephthalites who subdued part of northern India. Sung-Yun tells us that two

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in Western Turkistan certainly no later than the Kushan period. The same is borne out by the written records from Kara-Tepe ; see B. Y. Stavisky, *Nekotoriye voprosy istorii buddizma* . , p. 38.

[123] "The Mission of Sung-Yun and Hwei-Sang to obtain Buddhist Books in the West (518 A.D.)",—in S. Beal, *Buddeist Records of the Western World*, vol. I, London, 1906, p. xcii ; K. Enoki, *On the Nationality of the Ephthalites*, in "Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko", (The Oriental Library), No. 18, Tokyo, 1959, pp. 45-48. On the reports of Sung-Yun and information of the Pei-Shih based on them, see E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Toukiue (turcs) occidentaux,*—in "Trudy Orkhonskoi ekspeditsii", VI, St. Petersburg, 1903, p. 225, note 3 ; compare with R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, MDAFA, vol. xiii, Le Caire, 1948, p. 120.

[124] A. Herrmann, *Die Hephthaliten und ihre Beziehungen zu China*, AM. vol. II, No. 3-4, Lipsiae, 1925, pp. 577-578 ; A. von Gabain, *Der Buddhismus in Zentralasien*, pp. 500-501. Compare with J. Marquart, Erānsahr..., p. 240.

generations before his time, Gandhāra had been overrun by the Ephthalites[125]. Accordingly, that must have happened somewhere in the second half of the 5th century[126]. J. Marshall feels that it can be dated even more closely, around A.D. 460. That is evidently when the monasteries in the vicinity of Taxila were put to flame although their ruins continued to stand for another 150 years[127]. At the same time, some of the inscriptions on Ephthalite coins, in the opinion of V. A. Livshitz, are connected with Buddhism[128].

It would therefore appear that the Ephthalite rulers of different regions pursued different policies towards Buddhism at different times. During periods of military operations, Buddhist religious institutions were destroyed and plundered. But by and large Buddhism was not persecuted in Central Asia under the Ephthalites and some Ephthalite rulers even gave it their support.

What stand did the Turks who came in the wake of the Ephthalites take towards Buddhism ? In Western Turkistan at least they did not discriminate against that religion. From the middle of the 6th century on, the Eastern Turks were strongly influenced by Buddhist propaganda.[129] Its influence was also felt among the Western Turks. We do know, of course, that the Turkic tribes which settled around Issyk-Kul continued to worship fire and spirits.[130] Yet the khāqan of the Western Turks, Tun-Shehu, when in this region, gave Hsüan-Tsang a warm

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125. "The Mission of Sung-Yun...", p. xcix-c.
126. E. Chavannes, *Documents...*, p. 226.
127. J. Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. i, Cambridge, 1951, p. 77. Also see U. N. Ghoshal, *Ancient Indian Culture in Afghanistan*, Calcutta, 1928, pp. 25-26.
128. V. A. Livshitz, *K otkrytiyu baktriyskikh nadpisei na Kara-Tepe,*—in "Kara-Tepe, Ii" (now in press).
129. S. Levi, E. Chavannes, *L'iteneraire d'Ou-K'ong*, JA, N.S., 1895, vol. VI, pp. 354-355, note 2 ; A von Gabain, *Buddhistische Türkenmission*, pp. 162-164 ; A. von Gabain, *Der Buddhismus in Zentralasien*, p. 506. Acccording to one student of the history of the ancient Turks, "it must be admitted that at least the Turkic ruling element must have been familiar at an early date with Buddhism" ; early in the 6th century Buddhist preachers were known to have visited the precursors of the Turks, the Chuan-Chuan [Liu Mau-tsai, Kulturelle Beziehungen zwischen den Ost-Türken (-T'u-küe) und China, CAJ, vol. iii, No. 3, Wiesbaden, 1958, pp. 194-195]. But according to Huei-Ch'ao, even at the beginning of the 8th century the majority of the Turks "did not know the law of Buddha and had neither monasteries nor monks" (W Fuchs, *Huei-Ch'ao's Pilgerreise durch Nordwest-Indien und Zentral-Asien um* 726, SPAW, Berlin, 1938, p. 453.
130. A. von Gabain, *Der Buddhismus in Zentralasien*, p. 506.

reception some time around A.D. 630 and lent his preaching a friendly ear.[131] It would be risky to assume that it was this famous traveller who sowed the seeds of Buddhism in Semirechye, for there must have been Buddhist preachers there before as well as after him and they no doubt were able to convert a section of the population of Semirechye to Buddhism. We must not rule out the possibility that Buddhist missionaries came to Semirechye and Ferghana from the central and southern parts of Central Asia together with the successive waves of the Soghdian colonising effort. This hypothesis fits in nicely with the architectural style of the Buddhist temples of Semirechye, which belong with one of the surface variants of planning used at Kara-Tepe and Haḍḍa, in the temples of Pjanjikent, and then further east in Central Asia (more on this subject later); it likewise accords with the sculptural objects and so on. B. Y. Stavisky on the contrary has come to the conclusion that the Buddhist monuments in Semirechye and Ferghana are the result of the activity of East-Turkistan and Chinese missionaries.[132] This view cannot be substantiated, however, by the facts thus far at our disposal.

Ou-k'ong, a Chinese traveller of a much later period than Hsüan-Tsang, who visited Kashmir and Gandhāra between 759 and 764, saw among local Buddhist sanctuaries a number of temples that had been erected by Turkic rulers or members of their families; these monuments had already been in existence for a century. In Kashmir he saw the Khātūn's temple, established under the Turks, and the temple of Ve-li-t'e-le or Ve-li-tegin, son of the Turkic king. E. Chavannes offers the opinion that this may be the person who figures as Vel-tekin in Dīnavarī and as Barmuda (or Parmuda) in other sources—the prince of Bukhara region who is mentioned in the historical sources with reference to the events of the end of the 6th century. In Gandhāra, according to Ou-k'ong, there was a temple of Tegin-cha (or T'e-k'in-li) whose foundation was attributed to the son of the Turkic king and another that was allegedly established by the Khātūn, "the wife of the king of the Turks". E. Chavannes also suggests that this Tegin-cha may be the same as the Ou-san tegin-cha who ruled in Kapiśa in 739.[133]

There is no reason to doubt the validity of this local tradition, which links the foundation of the above Buddhist shrines with the Turks. But the identifications suggested by various scholars and the chronological determinations which follow from these can hardly be taken for granted. At the same time it is quite clear that sometime at the end of the 6th century or not later than the first half of the 7th century, certain rulers of the Western Turks either became Buddhists or extended to that religion their patronage.[134] In the early 8th century the Western Turkic rulers and aristocracy are portrayed in the reports of Huei-Ch'ao as devout Buddhists who founded monasteries and showered them with gifts. Of a certain north-western region of India we read, "although the king here is a T'u-küeh (Turk) he adheres to the *triratna* [or The Three Treasures, as the Buddhists call their religion.—*B.L.*]. The king, his wives, the princes and nobles all build monasteries and make Buddhist offerings."[135] This traveller has left us very full accounts of the Turkic rulers who gave their support to Buddhism.[136] Evidently A. von Gabain was right when she pointed out the connection between the spread of Buddhism among the Western Turks and their transition to a settled and especially an urban way of life under the impact of the local Buddhist population.[137] We would add that political considerations must have played a very big part in this, support for Buddhism being necessary to their successful rule over a population that numbered many Buddhists.

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[131] "The life of Hsüan-Tsang...", pp. 43-45.

[132] B. Y. Stavisky, *Nekotorye voprosy istorii buddizma Srednei Azii* (*Iz itogov raskopok Kara-Tepe—buddiyskogo peschernogo monastyrya v Starom Termeze*),—in "Doklady po etnographii", (Geographical Society of the USSR, Section of Ethnography), fasc. I (4), Leningrad, 1965, p. 29.

[133] S. Levi, E. Chavannes, *L'iteneraire d'Ou-Kong*, pp. 354-355; E. Chavannes, *Documents...*, pp. 198, 242-245. Compare with A. von Gabain, *Buddhistische Turkenmission*, p. 166.

However that may be, Hsüan-Tsang's reports paint the following picture of Ṭukhāristān in the first half of the 7th century. The governor was the eldest son of the khāqān. Buddhism prospered throughout the land. When the governor died and the son of his chief wife succeeded him, he invited Hsüan-Tsang to Balkh to inspect his Buddhist sanctuaries there.[138] Hsüang-Tsang also tells the story of an attempt by one of the Turkic rulers (evidently, the khāqān's eldest son) to seize the wealth housed in the main Balkh monastery, of the punishment meted out to him, and of his belated penitence.[139]

I-Tsing left us a bit of information which is very important for our reconstruction of the history of Buddhism in Ṭukhāristān, although it has never been cited in this connection. In one of his compositions I-Tsing, who lived in India from 671 to 695, says of a certain Buddhist monk that the latter had "recently" stopped at a monastery originally built by the inhabitants of Tu-ho-lo (Ṭukhāristān) for practising "the religion of their land". This monastery was very rich in possessions and land and was very ornately decorated. Its furnishings and the donations upon which it existed exceeded anything the other monasteries had. The name of the monastery was Kien-t'ouo-louo-chan-tch'a. This name includes the word "Gandhāra", making the interpretation of this difficult text all the harder. It is not impossible that the Buddhist temple in question was built in Gandhāra by settlers from Ṭukhāristān. Without discounting this possibility, E. Chavannes suggests another explanation, namely, that it was built in Ṭukhāristān at the time when Ṭukhāristān and Gandhāra both belonged to the same empire, that is, in the 5th century, under the Kidarites or Little Kushans.[140] We are inclined to believe with him that the reference is to a manastery in Ṭukhāristān (Balkh Navbahār ?). The report of the great wealth this monastery commanded is highly significant. It is the only report of the kind we have had about a monument connected with Western Turkistan.

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[134] Also see B. Y. Stavisky, *O mezhdunarodnykh svyazyakh Srednei Azii v seredine* VIII v. (*v svete dannykh sovetskoi arkheologii*), PV, 1960, No. 5, p. 115.

[135] W. Fuchs, *Huei-Ch'ao's Pilgerreise*..., p. 445.

[136] *Ibid.*, pp. 446-449.

[137] A. von Gabain, *Buddhistische Turkenmission*, p. 166 ; A. von Gabain, *Der Buddhismus in Zentralasien*, p. 506.

[138] "The Life of Hsüan-Tsang...", pp. 48-49.

[139] S. Beal, *Buddhist Records*..., I, p. 45.

That Buddhism made great headway in Ṭukhāristān in the second half of the 7th and beginning of the 8th century is borne out by the remark of Huei-Ch'ao that in Ṭukhāristān "the king, nobles and people are vrey devoted to the *triratna* ; there are many monasteries and monks ; they follow the Hīnayāna doctrine."[141]

The proliferation of Buddhist sanctuaries and wide diffusion of Buddhism in Ṭukhāristān made such a great impression on Huei-Ch'ao that he declared "there are no heretical (from a Buddhist standpoint.—*B.L.*) teachings here."[142] This Buddhist traveller was guilty of wishful thinking, however. Buddhism was not the sole religion of northern Ṭukhāristān or other parts of Western Turkistan, as we have noted before. Ever since the second half of the 3rd century, the role of Manichaeism there had been growing.[143] By the beginning of the 7th century, according to Hsüan-Tsang, Manichaeism in its eastern variant was very strong in the regions of Persia bordering on Ṭukhāristān.[144]

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[140] I-Tsing, *Memoire compose a l'epoque de la frande dynastie T'ang sur les religieux eminents qui allerent chercher la loi dans les pais d'Occident,* Traduit en Francais par E. Chavannes, Paris, 1894, p. 80. Cf· I-Tsing, *Account of fifty-one Monks,*—In S. Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India, Their History and Their Contribution to Indian Culture,* London, 1962, p. 312 (the reference to this latest edition was kindly supplied by B. Y. Stavisky).

[141] W. Fuchs, *Huei-Ch'ao's Pilgerreise...,* p. 449. The predominance of the Hīnayāna in Western Turkistan during the early Middle Ages is confirmed by other sources as well. For instance, a man from Western Turkistan (who was in fact of Ṭukhāristān origin) by the name of Buddadharma is reported to have studied the doctrine of "the Little Wheel" in Nālandā during the latter half of the 7th century (see I-Tsing, *Memoire...,* pp. 37-38).

[142] W. Fuchs, *Huei-Ch'ao's Pilgerreise...,* p. 449.

In 694 there came to the court of the Chinese emperor a Manichaean missionary, "a man from the state of Persia who bore the name of Fouto-tan."[145] In the opinion of W. B. Henning, that was not his name at all, but the Chinese way of transcribing the Soghdian *'ft'* δ *'n—aftāδān*, which is the designation of one of the highest members of the Manichaean hierarchy. Henning assumes, and not without reason, that the missionary was a Soghdian. As he puts it, the Soghdians were the chief carriers of Manichaeism into Central Asia.[146] At the beginning of the 8th century the supreme head of the Manichaeans resided in Ṭukhāristān and later in Samarkand.[147] A decree issued by the Chinese emperor in 732 spoke of "the doctrine of Mānī" as the native religion of the Western Hu,[148] meaning not the inhabitants of Central Asia generally, in the opinion of scholars, but only the Soghdians.[149]

From the Chinese sources we know that Tu-ho-lo (Ṭukhāristān) was one of the countries that sent envoys to China in the year 719 ; the name of the ruler whom this envoy represented is given as the king of "Che-hal-na" (Chaghāniyān). The envoy was called "the great mou-cho", that being the word for an important functionary of the Manichaean church (mou-cho is a transcription of the Central Asian *mocak*, or literally "the teacher"), and recommended as a man of great wisdom and knowledge of astronomy. The king of Chaghāniyān asked the

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[143] For more on this subject, and also on the important role played by the Central Asian Manichaean communities, as compared with the Iranian, see W.B. Henning, *Neue Materialien...*, pp. 10-11.

[144] E. Chavannes, P. Pelliot, *Traite Manicheen retrouve en Chine*, II, JA, ser. XI, 1913, vol. I, p. 150. A. M. Belenitsky refers this report to Western Turkistan (*Voprosy ideologii...*, p. 44).

[145] E. Chavannes, P. Pelliot, *Traite Manicheen...*, pp. 150-51.

[146] W. B. Henning, *Neue Materialien...*, pp. 13-14.

[147] W. B. Henning, *Two Manichaean Magical Texts*, p. 49. Compare with E. Chavannes, P. Pelliot, *Traite Manicheen*, p. 197.

[148] G. Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 97-98, 105-106, 318-319 ; A. Adam, *Manichaismus*, p. 118.

[149] O. Maenchen-Helfen, *Manichaeans in Sibiria*. Reprinted from "Semitic and Oriental Studies. University of California Publications in Semitic Philology", vol. xi, 1951, p. 321.

Chinese emperor to confer with his envoy on the subject of the condition of the state and "our religious teachings".[150]

The story of this mission has been carefully studied by A. M. Belenitsky, who has correctly pointed out that it highlights the Manichaeans' ties with the authorities or local rulers.[151] To this we might add that the story describes a situation that prevailed not only in Chaghāniyān. As a matter of fact, the Chinese source gives the name of the king of Chaghāniyān as Ti-cho-Te-ś'a. J. Marquart has identified his name with that of the chaghān-hydat mentioned by Ṭabarī, who was also the *yabghū* of Ṭukhāristān.[152] It is quite probable, as V. A. Livshitz believes, that he is also mentioned in the Mug document in which a nameless "king of Ṭukhāristān" figures. It is significant that the name of this ruler was unquestionably Iranian ; his name is the Bactrian word for the star Sirius.[153]

Thus the mission of the year 719 characterises a situation that probably prevailed throughout all of Tukhāristān and confirms the fact (a reasonable deduction from the information of these written sources) that there were a number of religions there. There is a Turkic text in which "the great mou-cho of Ṭukhāristān" likewise figures, but it is still an open question whether this is the mou-cho of the Chinese source.[154]

Similarly we are able to gather from an inscription at Afrasiab[155] that the rulers of Soghd and Chaghāniyān followed different religions in the last third of the 7th century ; the former were in all likelihood worshippers of Mazdāh and the latter either manichaeans or Buddhists.

In other words, Manichaeism coexisted with Buddhism not only in Chaghāniyān but throughout the whole of Ṭukhāristān, and it was also relatively widespread in Soghd.

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[150] E. Chavannes, P. Pelliot, *Traite Manicheen...*, pp. 152-153. Also E. Chavannes, *Documents...*, pp. 157, 292, 303 ; E. H. Shafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand. A Study of T'ang Exotics*, Berkelely-Los Angeles, 1963, p. 50.

[151] A. M. Belenitsky, *Voprosy ideologii...*, pp. 44-45.

[152] J. Marquart, *Erānśahr nach der Geographie des Ps.Moses Xorenac'i*, pp. 70, 226-227.

[153] V. A. Livshitz, *Yuridicheskiye dokumenty i pisma...*, p. 40.

[154] E. Chavannes, P. Pelliot, *Traite Manicheen...*, p. 197.

[155] V. A. Livshitz, *Sogdiana*, in "Leninsky Put", (newspaper published in Samarkand), July 6, 1965 ; V. A. Livshitz, *Nadpisi na freskakh iz Afrasiaba*, —in "Tezisy dokladov sessii, posvyashchyonnoi istorii zhivopisi starn Azii", Leningrad, 1965, p. 6. Was not the mou—cho also one of the heads of the Samarkand mission ?

In general Buddhism and Manichaeism existed side by side in Western and Eastern Turkistan for a long time, and, as we have said before, Buddhism exerted a great influence on the pantheon, terminology and even the concepts of Eastern Manichaeism (and, to a lesser degree, of Nestorianism). It also influenced the religious practices of Manichaeism. For example, one of the central ideas of Eastern Manichaeism, the concept of the confession of sin, was borrowed from Buddhism (where this concept was developed and strengthened in the Hīnayāna and particularly in the Mahāyāna and here also applied to the laity). Under the influence of the Buddhist monasteries, Manichaean monasteries appeared in the east and began to spread to the west as well. The Manichaean scriptures are imitations of the Buddhist sūtras. Mānī is endowed with the title of "Bodhisattva" in the Middle-Persian texts. The death of Mānī is spoken of as nirvāṅa. More than that, there is a Manichaean-Buddhist text in which, speaking of the arrival of Mānī in Turan (the territory of present-day Baluchistan), he is addressed in these words : "You are the Buddha and we are sinful human beings." A Manichaean hymn in the Turkic language is addresed to "my father, Mānī-Buddha".[156]

There are no attempts to polemise with Buddhism in Manichaean literature. As J. P. Asmussen has aptly noted, the Manichaeans' sole method of warring with Buddhism was by borrowing its theses and incorporating them in their own doctrine.[157] Such was the case at least on the ideological, or rather the theological plane. In real life, however, one religion was always at war with the other. Enlisting converts among the ruling element and members of the upper class generally was a customary tactic of this struggle. According to the Soghdian version of the "missionary history", Mār Ammo, the first Manichaean missionary in the East, "ordained...numerous kings and rulers, grandees and noblemen, queens and ladies, princes and princesses" in the Abarśahr (Nishapur) and Merv areas, thus fulfilling "all the orders and injunctions that [had been given] him by [Mānī]".[158] It is significant, too, that having reached Warucān (south or south-

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156. J. P. Asmussen, *Xuāstvānīft...*, pp. 253-261 ; A. von Gabain, W. Winter, *Türkische Turfantexte IX. Ein Hymnus an den Vater Mani auf "Tocharisch" B mit alttürkischen Ubersetzung*, Berlin, 1958, p. 11. The connections between Manichaeism and Buddhism are also noted in the Arabic-Persian sources : G. Flügel, *Mani*, p. 85 ; K. Kessler, *Mani*, pp. 317, 372, etc. ; also in other Western sources.

157. J. P. Asmussen, *Xuāstvānīft...*, p. 254. For important sidelights on the relation of Manichaeism to other religions, see M. Boyce, *On Mithra in the Manichaean Pantheon*,—in "A Locust's Leg. Studies in Honour of S. H. Taqizadeh", London, 1962, pp. 44-54.

158. W. B. Henning, *Warūcān-sāh*, p. 87 ; W. B. Henning, *Mitteliranisch*,—in "Handbuch der Orientalistik", I, IV, I, Leiden-Koln, 1958, p. 94.

west of Balkh), the terminal point of his journey, as we are told in the surviving fragment of the Middle Persian version of this history, Mār Ammo "overcame the teachings of the [other] religions", with the result that a certain Warucān-śāh noticed him.[159] The picture is graphic enough : this was no idyll ; it was a case of fierce religious strife further aggravated by the fact that a third foreign religion, Christianity (the Nestorian branch, to be exact), which was far from peaceable in nature, had struck root in Ṭukhāristān.

The question of the interrelation of Buddhism and Zoroastrianism is also very complicated. From the iconographical standpoint it is safe to say that there were mutual influences, resulting in such syncretised works as the frescoes of Bāmiyān and Dukhtar-i-Noshirvān ; the figure of Rustam coincided in many ways with that of a Bodhisattva, and so on. But the question of Buddhism's influence on Zoroastrianism from the theological standpoint has not been adequately investigated. Still, the following points may be noted. R. C. Zaehner is of the opinion that Zoroastrianism certainly felt the impact of Indian religious-philosophical thought in the Sassanian period.[160] The wily demon Āz of the Pahlavi Zoroastrian books is reminiscent of the Buddhist *avidyā* ("ignorance") and its manifestation *tṛṣṇa* ("persistent desire"), associated with the wish to continue one's existence. Actually, Āz is an example of the transfer of the above Buddhist concepts into Zoroastrianism in its later stage, although these concepts underwent considerable modification in Zoroastrianism. As Zaehner says, "if the idea is originally Buddhistic, the working out of it is thoroughly Zoroastrian."[161]

In addition to these three religions (Buddhism, Manichaeism and Christianity), Ṭukhāristān also must have had a local religion that was popular with the masses of towns-folk and especially among the rural population. Our knowledge of this religion is utterly inadequate as yet, but so much is clear—in

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159. W. B. Henning, *Warūcān-sāh*, pp. 86, 88. According to the Middle Persian version of the missionary history, Mār Ammo was sent to Khorāsān in the company of the Parthian Prince Artabanus, a device by means of which Mānī wanted to facilitate the enlistment of adepts from among the old Parthian aristocracy. See F. C. Andreas, W. Henning, *Mitteliranisch Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, II, "Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse", Berlin, 1933, No. 7-9, p. 303.
160. R. C. Zaehner, *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*, New York, 1961, pp. 195-198.
161. Ibid., pp. 229-230. Also R. C. Zaehner, Zurvan. *A Zoroastrian Dilemma*, Oxford, 1955, pp. 166-183.

many respects it had points of contact and parallels with indigenous religion of the Soghdians[162].

And so we find a true conglomeration of religions in Ṭukhāristān in the 6th and up to the beginning of the 8th century, and also in varying degree in the other regions of Western Turkistan ; these religions competed for the minds and souls of the people, influenced one another and often interlaced. Against this background the relative place of Buddhism was very great, as the written sources and archeological data cited below can tell us. For convenience sake, we are presenting this material geographically, for specific regions of Western Turkistan.

Soghd. The Chinese dynastic choronicles tell us that the inhabitants of Kang (Samarkand Soghd) "worship the Buddha"[163]. The Buddhist pilgrim by the name of Saṅghavarma who gained renown at the end of the 7th century was a native of Kang[164]. T'ang-shu says that the inhabitants of Kang followed the Buddhist religion and made sacrifices to the sky (seen as evidence of the religion of worshippers of Mazdah by E. Chavannes)[165]. These reports do not coincide with what Hsüan-Tsang tells us ; in his biography we read that in "the country" of Kang-Samarkand, the king and the people do not believe in Buddhism, but worship fire. There are two monastery-buildings but no monks. If wandering monks tried to stop over in them, the local inhabitants would drive them out with burning sticks. That is exactly what happened to the two monks who accompanied Hsüan-Tsang. At the same time we learn that after Hsüan-Tsang talked to them, the king and the people came to believe in Buddhism, and a large meeting was held to ordain a certain number of converts who then went to live in the monasteries[166]. But there is nothing about Buddhism in Samarkand in Hsüan-Tsang's accounts of his travels[167].

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[162] See W. B. Henning, *A Sogdian God*, BSOAS, 1965, vol. XXVIII, pt 2, pp. 252-253. About the local religion of Bactria-Ṭukhāristān, see also J. Harmatta, *Cusanica*, A0r, vol. XI, Budapest, pp. 196-209 ; H. Humbach, *Kusan und Hephthaliten*, München, 1961, pp. 18-25 ; G. Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans*, Stuttgart, 1965, pp. 333-343 (on the religion of the Soghdians, see pp. 320-332).

[163] N. Y. Bichurin (Iakinf), *Sobraniye svedeniy o narodakh, obitavshikh v Srednei Azii v drevniye vremena*, II, Moscow-Leningrad, 1950, pp. 272-281.

[164] I-Tsing, *Mémoire*..., pp. 73-76

[165] E. Chavannes, *Documents*..., p. 136. In the opinion of some scholars, the Chinese term "Hsien" applied by the Chinese to designate the religion of the people of the West, meant Zoroastrianism in the Tang period, but may have designated the Buddhist deities at an earlier time ; see A.E. Dien, A Note on HSIEN "Zoroastrianism", "Oriens", Vol. X, No. 2, Leiden, 1957, pp. 284-288 ; H. W. Bailey has suggested, on the other hand, that the Chinese HSIEN may be a derivation from the Iranian (a) θrya—a term related to the fire of the deity of the Zoroastrian sphere. See H. W. Bailey, *Indo-Scythian Studies*, vol IV, Cambridge, 1961, p. 11.

It is all too possible that the success of the pious deeds of the Buddhist monk was exaggerated in this biographical apologia. It is likewise plausible that the "infidelity" of the inhabitants of Kang was overemphasised for the same reason. However that may be, it hardly seems advisable to take these words of Hsüan-Tsang's without a grain of salt, especially since they are utterly contradicted by the information in the Chinese chronicles. In the opinion of A. von Gabain, when Hsüan-Tsang arrived in cities with mixed population, he sought out and interested himself primarily in the Chinese and Indian Buddhists[168]. Samarkand and Ṭukhāristān must have presented highly contrasting pictures in that respect. It is perhaps along this line that one must seek an explanation for the marked disparity between the reports of the chronicles and Hsüan-Tsang. Nevertheless, it is clear that Buddhism held a much less important place in Soghd during the first half of the 7th century than in Ṭukhāristān, and that subsequently its role diminished still more more. By the end of the first quarter of the 8th century, there was one solitary Buddhist monastery attended by one monk in all of Samarkand[169]. A Mug document mentions *sr'mn* ("Buddhist monk") and also *krph* (in the opinion of V.A. Livshitz, the Sanskrit *kalpa*—"decree, command"), a term found in the Buddhist monuments. According to this investigator, "from the Mug documents it would appear that by the beginning of the 8th century Buddhism no longer played a noticeable role on the territory of Samarkand Soghd". Livshitz suggests that the above document was addressed "to some person outside of Samarkand Soghd, possibly living in one of the Soghdian villages of Semirechye".[170] This last is still in need of confirmation, but neither can it be entirely discounted.

We might also note that the Indian "Buddha" came into the Tajik language through the Soghdian *bwty*, *pwtty*[171] with the meaning of "idol"[172] and sometimes just "the Buddha"[173]. The word "shaman" or "idol worshipper" came into the Tajik and a number of other languages from the Soghdian *śmn* or "monk" (the Prākrit form of the Sanskrit *śramaṇa*)[174].

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[166] *The Life of Hsüan-Tsang...*, p. 46-47.

[167] S. Beal, *Buddhist Records...*, I, pp. 32-33.

[168] A. Von. Gabain, *Buddhistische Türkenmission*, p. 167.

[169] W. Fuchs, *Huei-Ch'ao's Pilgerreise...*, p. 452.

[170] "Yuridicheskiye dokumenty i pisma. Chteniye, perevod i kommentarii V. A. Livshitza", ("Sogdiiskiye dokumenty s gory Mug", fasc II), Moscow, 1962, pp. 165-166.

[171] J. Gershevitch, *A Grammar of Manichaean Sogdian*, Oxford, 1954, pp. 4, 5, 179.

[172] W. E. Henning, *Sogdian Loan-Words in New Persian*, BSOS, vol. x, pt. i, 1939, p. 94. Compare with E. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster and His World*, ii,

The most logical assumption is that the incorporation of these and similar Soghdian words into the Tajik occurred in places where the areas of these languages impinged on each other, that is, in Western Turkistan, or specifically, Soghd or its environs.[175] Livshitz takes care to remind us, at the same time, that the possibility of books being the source of loan words must not be excluded either : such words could have made their way into Tajik-Persian literature from the Soghdian written sources (not necessarily those of Western Turkistan provenance).

The existence of Buddhist religious edifices in Soghd is borne out by the ancient toponymics.

W. Barthold saw a relation (and not without justification) between the name of the village and rural district of Sandjarfaghan (later Zenjīrbāgh), situated to

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p. 756 ; V. A. Livshitz, *Sogdiyskiye slova v Tadzhikskom yazyke*, I, "Izvestiya otdeleniya obshchestvennykh nauk AN Tadzhikskoi SSR" No. 12, 1957, p. 34.

[173] H. W. Bailey, *The Word "but" in Iranian*, BSOS, 1931, vol. vi, pt. 2, pp. 279-280. For the designation of the Buddha in different Central Asian languages, see also H. W. Bailey, *Madu : A Contribution to the History of Wine*. Reprinted from "Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun-Kagaki-Kenkyusyo", Kyoto University, 1954, pp. 7-9.

[174] V. A. Livshitz, *Sogdiyskiye slova .* , p. 35 ; Abureihan Biruni, *Izbranniye proizvedeniya*, vol. ii, pp. 544-545. About the term *śramaṇa* in the Arabic-Persian sources, see G. Flügel, *Mani*, pp. 385-386 ; "Alberuni's India", vol. ii, p. 261. In the Indian literature, see N. A. Sastri, *Śramaṇa or Non-brahmaṇical Sects*,—in "The Cultural Heritage of India", vol. i, Calcutta, 1958, p. 389.

[175] It is less probable that this happend outside Western Turkistan, in Eastern Turkistan, where the Soghdian-Buddhist tradition was very strong. At the same time, A. Stein has found at Khotan in Dadak-Uilik the fragmented letter of a Jewish merchant which is one of the earliest examples of a written record in thc Tajik-Persian ; it has been dated in the 8th century. See V. Minorsky, *Some Early Documents in Persian* (I), JRAS, October 1942, p. 183 ; W. B. Henning, *The Inscriptions of Tang-i Azao*, BSOAS, 1957, vol. xx, p. 338 ; also, K. Zaleman, *Po povody yevreisko-persidskogo otryvka iz Khotana*, ZVORAO, vol. xvi, St. Petersburg, 1904, pp. 046-057.

the southeast of Samarkand, and the word for a Buddhist monastery—saṅghārāma. He also maintained that the Navbahār gates in Samarkand and Bukhara were originally connected with a vihāra.[176] Linguists agree that the Sanskrit *vihāra* may have been transposed into the later *bihār*.[177] But the association of the name of Bukhara itself with the word vihāra which is frequently encountered in the literature[178] cannot be considered tenable from a linguistic standpoint.[179]

Taking all the above into consideration, we cannot agree with the view often expressed in the literature that Buddhism was completely obliterated in Soghd by the time of the Arab conquest. The true situation has been more aptly described by A. M. Belenitsky, one of the foremost authorities on Soghdian ideology: "...By the time of the existence of the Pjanjikent temples of the 7th century, Buddhism had been substantially superseded by other faiths."[180] It is hard to see why Buddhism should have failed to withstand the "competition" of other religions in Soghd and survived it in many other parts of Western Turkistan. Other factors must have come into play ; we can only guess what they were. Perhaps one was the following.

Nobody knows what the relations of the Buddhist community or saṅgha were with the state, or what legal status it enjoyed in Western Turkistan. It is not unlikely that these relations may have taken different forms at different periods. The history of the Chinese Buddhist church shows that when it was strongest, the saṅgha tried to secure its autonomy from the power of the state (340-403);[181] the Tibetan church, on the other hand, merged with the state.[182] It is perfectly possible that the same tendencies manifested themselves in Western Turkistan, culminating in conflicts with the rulers and the subsequent weakening of Buddhist influence in the central part of Western Turkistan in the 6th to 8th centuries.

Extensive archeological excavations have been conducted for many years now on the territory of Soghd. So far they have not led to the discovery of any 6th to

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[176] W. Barthold, *Istoriya kulturnoi zhizni Turkestana,* "Sochineniya", vol. ii (1), Moscow, 1963, pp. 215-216.

[177] V. A. Livshitz, K. V. Kaufman, I. M. Diakonoff, *O drevnei Sogdiyskoi pismennosti Bukhary*, VDI, 1954, No. 1, p. 155.

[178] R. N. Frye, *Bukhara...*, pp. 8-9 ; V. A. Nikonov, Kratky toponimichesky slovar, Moscow, 1966, p. 70.

[179] V. A. Livshitz, K. V. Kaufman. I. M. Diakonoff, *O drevnei sogdiyskoi pismennosti Bukhary,* p. 155.

[180] A. M. Belenitsky, *Voprosy ideologii...*, p. 39.

[181] E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China...*, pp. 106-107, 231, et seq., 255 et seq.

[182] B. Y. Vladimirtsov, *Buddizm v Tibete i Mongolii*, Petrograd, 1919.

8th century monuments relating to Buddhism. The monumental art works discovered in Pjanjikent and Varakhsha, in the opinion of A. M. Belenitsky, "do not point to any direct relation between those monuments and Buddhism as a religious system. And yet we cannot understand those monuments or analyse their sources without drawing upon the artistic heritage of India, above all the Buddhistic Indian heritage."[183] This conclusion is endorsed by V. A. Shishkin, another eminent student of Central Asian art. "Neither in Varakhsha nor in Pjanjikent nor in Balalyk-tepe is there any hint of the well-known Buddhist iconography", he writes. "These paintings also differ from the synchronous Indian paintings in style."[184] But Belenitsky and Shishkin both follow much the same line of argument in explaining the indisputable resemblance between the art of Pjanjikent and Varakhsha, on the one hand, and the Buddhist art of India, on the other (the number of such points of resemblance at Pjanjikent has steadily increased, by the way, as the diggings have continued). They locate the intermediate chronological and territorial links in the south of Western Turkistan, in Bactria—Ṭukhāristān. Basically we agree with their conclusion, although we would point out the direct contacts that also existed between Soghd and India.[185]

But neither can we overlook the unquestionable parallelism that comes to light when we examine the Manichaean and Buddhist texts from Eastern Turkistan, on the one hand, and the art of Pjanjikent and Varakhsha, on the other. Behind the one and the other there hovers a Central Asian Buddhist background. It is hard to dismiss the thought that the latter was exclusively Tukharistanian. What is most likely is the existence of a Soghdian substratum too.

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[183] A. M. Belenitsky, *K istorii kulturnykh svyazei Srednei Azii i Indii v rannee srednevekovye*,—in "Indiya v drevnosti", p. 189. Compare with the attempt by K. Jettmar to consider the scene of "The Mourning of Siyavush" as a portrayal of the cremation of the dead Buddha (K. Jettmar, *Zur "Beweinung szene" aus Pendzikent*, CAJ, Vol. VI, No. 4, 1961, pp. 262-267). Also see M. Bussagli, *Painting of Central Asia*, Geneva, 1963, pp. 47-48.

[184] V. A. Shishkin, *Varakhsha*, Moscow, 1963, pp. 205-208.

[185] These had a definite impact on painting, examples of which have recently been found at Afrasiab (V. A. Shishkin, *Afrasiab—sokrovishchnitsa drevnei kultury*, Tashkent, 1966, pp. 12-22). The contacts of Soghd with India were very intensive. According to a contemporary Indian scholar, the Soghdians immersed themselves deeply in Indian history and culture. The diffusion of the Soghdians in northern and perhaps even central India is clearly reflected in the Indian linguistic material (Buddha Prakash, Ṭhākura, "Central Asiatic Journal", vol. III, No. 3, Wiesbaden, 1958, p. 234). Naturally, this could not but stimulate the spread of Buddhism in Soghd, along with the development of all kinds of economic and cultural ties.

During the second half of the 6th century A. D., the development of Chinese art was greatly influenced by the school of Ts'ao Chung-ta, the foremost Buddhist artist of his time. From his name he is judged to have been a native of the Western Turkistan province of Tsao. It is not clear whether this is the Eastern Tsao (Ustrūshana) or Western (in Samarkand Soghd).[186] Other data of the same nature can be found in the written sources. Even more convincing is the rich store of early medieval Western Turkistan painting. When this is compared with Eastern Turkistan art we see what a substantial contribution the painting of Western Turkistan made to the development of painting in Central Asia.[187] Since the Soviet discoveries at Adzhina Tepe, the same can be said for sculpture. The time is past when Central Asian art was considered a derivative of Iranian art. And yet to this day, even in the major works of certain authoritative Western scholars, the role of Sassanian art in the formation of the art of Eastern Turkistan is exaggerated, while the Western Turkistan contribution is relegated to a secondary place.[188] Truly scientific analysis of the total Western Turkistan material now at hand, and comparison of the latter with that from Eastern Turkistan will enable us to replace the subjective chronological determinations of the Eastern Turkistan frescoes by scientific ones and reconsider our ideas on the origins and development of Eastern Turkistan painting generally.[189]

But to get back to Western Turkistan—in the early Middle Ages Buddhism was also widespread in Semirechye and Ferghana, judging by the archaeological material.

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[186] F. Hirth, *Biographical Notes on Some Chinese Ancient Painters*, TP, Sér. II, vol. VI, Leide, 1905, pp. 434-435 ; A. Waley, *An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Painting*, New York, 1958, pp. 86-87 ; M. Bussagli, *Painting of Central Asia*, p. 53. This also applies to the Buddhist monk from Tsao who was likewise a famous musician, Tsao-Polomen (5th-6th centuries). For more about him see B. L. Riftin, "Iz istorii kulturnykh svyazei Srednei Azii i Kitaya (II vek do n.e.—VIII vek n.e.), PV, 1960, No. 5, p. 132.

[187] M. M. Diakonov, *Rospisi Pendzhikenta i zhivopis Srednei Azii*,—in "Zhhivopis drevnego Pendzhikenta", Moscow, 1954, pp. 147-154.

[188] R. Ghirshman, *Iran. Parthians and Sassanians*, London, 1962, pp. 317-324.

[189] See F. H. Andrews, *Wall Paintings from Ancient Shrines in Central Asia Recovered by Sir Aurel Stein*, London, 1948, p. XVI.

Semirechye. L. R. Kyzlasov has completed the excavation of a Buddhist temple at the site of Ak-Beshim, 8 kilometres to the south-west of the town of Tokmak. L. P. Zyablin has excavated a second temple.

The first temple[190] proved to be a closed rectangular structure (76 x 22 metres) extending strictly from east to west. The entrance to the narrow eastern side of the structure led into an almost square vestibule opening on to the rooms next to the entrance on either side of the entrance (originally they were six) as well as a passage to the large courtyard (32 x 18 metres). This courtyard evidently had īwān sheds lining its lateral sides. On the narrow side of the courtyard opposite the first entrance, another passage led into a narrow hall with eight columns, deep in the interior of which lay a square shrine (entered from this hall), surrounded by an arched processional corridor linked by two doorways with the hall of columns. The walls were heavy, 2 to 3 metres thick, and laid of clay blocks and unbaked bricks.

On the western side of the hall, flanking the entrance to the shrine, stood two narrow stepped pedestals. Near one of these, on lotus-shaped elevations, rested the feet and legs (up to the knees) of a large statue of the Buddha. The length of the foot was 0.8 metres. Near the other pedestal lay the fragments of another large sculpture. In the opinion of L. R. Kyzlasov, the first pedestal must have supported a large statue of the Buddha seated with his legs resting on the floor, and the other pedestal a seated Buddha. There were two more pedestals of the suffa type here. Inside the shrine (40 square metres in area), Kyzlasov concludes from the small fragments littering the floor, there must have been a bronze statue of the Buddha. Other finds were gilded bronze plates with depictions of Buddhist subjects. There was a square depression in the centre of the shrine.

The second temple[191] was in the form of a closed square 38 metres on each side. Its main entrance was flanked by pylons on the north and branched into two narrow passageways on the sides. The central passage led into a square yard two of whose sides were lined with additional walls, from which one may logically assume (contrary to L. P. Zyablin) that it was originally an īwān construction. This yard could also be reached by passages from the central shrine and two passages from the inner circumambulatory corridor which encircled the shrine on three sides. The outer corridor ran around the sides of the suggested īwān and ended at the front wall.

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[190] L. R. Kyzlasov, *Arkheologicheskiye issledovaniya na gorodishche Ak-Beshim v 1953-1954 gg.*,—in "Trudy KAEE", II, Moscow, 1959, pp. 155-227; S. G. Khmelnitsky, *Opyt rekonstruktsii buddiyskogo khrama gorodishcha Ak-Beshim*, *ibid.*, pp. 243-265.

[191] L. P. Zyablin, *Vtoroi buddiysky khram Ak-Beshimskogo gorodishcha*, Frunze, 1961.

The inner measurements of the central shrine were 10.5 x 10 metres. It was cruciform in shape, with projections in the corners that were not linked to the main walls. The floor of the altar part was 0.9 metres higher than the rest, and it was reached up an inclined pathway. Each of the three niches held a triple-tiered pedestal 27-29 cm. high, flanked by round pedestals ornamented with lotus flowers. The corners were taken up with narrow suffas. Other pedestals for sculptures were disposed along the inner and outer circumambulatory corridors, which were 2.8 metres high at the walls and had arched ceilings.

The walls were laid in the main of a combination of clay blocks and bricks, were anywhere from 2.1 to 4 metres thick, and were covered with paintings, only one small fragment of which is preserved.

The numerous sculptures, in the opinion of L. P. Zyablin, were of standing figures. Of those partially extant, we might mention the head of a Bodhisattva with an elaborate headdress, and fragments of other heads : that of a Buddha(?), a doksit (?), of the coiffure of a very large central figure of the Buddha, and pieces of sculptural ornamentation.

Another large Buddhist structure has been excavated by P. N. Kozhemyako in the Chū Valley, near the village of Krasnorechensky. We have only some very terse newspaper reports on the results of these excavations, which included the find of part of a huge statue of the Buddha "lying along the whole length of the western corridor on its plastered pedestal, evidently once ornamented."[192]

Let us pause here to consider the sculptures at the second Ak-Beshim temple in more detail. Originally the number of sculptures there must have been quite large and constituted a number of compositions. L. P. Zyablin has told us that as the diggings proceeded, a layer of rubble containing large and small sculptural fragments, plaster, and details of foliage, rosettes, etc., was uncovered on the floor. Many of the figures were life-size, and some were larger.

Artistically the most important find was that of a head of the Bodhisattva,[193] in a fine state of preservation. It was topped by an intricate coiffure and crown, with a twisted puff of hair on the forehead. The hair was dyed blue ; the broad blunt face retained no traces of paint ; the ear lobes were elongated. L. P. Zyablin has compared this sculpture with one of the heads at Haḍḍa.[194] We might add that there are some resemblances with other Haḍḍa heads as well.[195] But these are all very remote analogies, for the proportions and treatments of the faces are very different at Haḍḍa. Much closer ties can be established with Eastern Turkistan. This applies to the kind of headdress[196] and, more important still, to the proportions and treatment of the face and its individual features. The Ak-Beshim head is particularly close to one of the heads at Tumchuq,[197] and also the sculptures at Duldur-Aqur,[198] with which the resemblance is particularly striking. Similarities with the art of Eastern Turkistan are apparent in the other stutues, especially of a demoniacal nature (more of that below).

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[192] Y. Golovanov, *Chuysky koloss*, "Komsomolskaya Pravda", July 7, 1962.

[193] L. P. Zyablin, *Vtoroi buddiysky khram...*, pp. 43-44, fig. 3.

[194] J. Barthoux, *Les fouilles de Haḍḍa. III. Figures et figurines*, Paris, 1930, pl. 67/c.

[195] J. Barthoux, *Les fouilles de Haḍḍa...*, pl. 70/a.

Ferghana. V. A. Bulatove-Levina has discovered a Buddhist temple at Quvā,[199] but no full description of the temple or the material there has been published as yet. From the partial accounts that have appeared we know that the structure was made of unbaked bricks and the walls were as much as 1·6 metres thick. An entrance looking south into one of the premises was flanked by pylons. Inside there were suffas along the walls and niches for sculptures. Lying on the floor was part of a very large Buddha figure, including the head, shoulders and upper part of the right arm. Many other clay heads and sculptural as well as micro-architectural (terracotta) details littered the interior. Outside, near one of the pylons at the entrance, were two sculptures—of a horse and of a warrior or equerry.[200]

Of course, it is very tempting to conclude that what we have here at Quvā is the portrayal of an episode in the Buddha's life which is so often repeated with variations in Buddhist art—his departure from the palace. In that case the horse is his beloved Kaṇṭhaka, and the equerry is Chandaka. But this interpretation of the scene can only be accepted after the whole cycle of Quvā sculpture has been published.

We must look more closely, however, into the sculptured heads wearing crowns of skulls. One of the finds allows of the reconstruction of "the black head of a goddess with her thin gilded eyebrows angrily knitted and a crown of skulls on her high coiffure." V. A. Bulatova-Levina belives this to be a representation of the female deity Śrīdevī.[201] Remains of the sculpture of her mule, specifically the leg and hoof, are preserved. Other finds include many large and small clay skulls and other sculptural details belonging in all likelihood to the companions of the deity. Another sculptured head found in the same temple also seems to have been adorned originally with a crown of skulls. In the opinion of the investigator of the temple, this is the head of Mañjuśrī, God of Enlightenment and simultaneously Champion of Faith. Fragments of reliefs in the shape of lion (or tiger) skins, which may have served as the skirt of these deities, were also found.[202]

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[196] M. Paul-David, M. Hallade, L. Hambis, *Toumchouq, Mission Paul Pelliot: Documents archéologiques, II*, Paris, 1964, p. 177, pl. D/68, 69, 71 and especially H/11 ; *Toumchouq. Planches*, Paris, 1961, pl. LXXXIX/225.

[197] *Toumchouq. Planches*, pl. XXIV/44-78.

[198] *Douldour-Aquor et Soubachi. Planches*, Paris, 1967. pl. V.

[199] V. A. Bulstova-Levina, *Buddiysky khram v Kuve*, SA, 1961, No. 3, pp. 241-250.

[200] For more about the Quvā sculptures, see G. A. Pugachenkova, L. I. Rempel, *Istoriya iskusstv Uzbekistana* .., 1965, p. 134. There were evidently other Buddhist edifices beside the Quvā temple in Ferghana—see N. G. Gorbunova, *Raskopki poseleny v zone zatopleniya Kerkidonskogo vodokhranilishcha (Ferghana) v 1964-1965 godakh*,—in "Sektsiya arkheologii Srednei Azii (Tezisy dokladov)", Moscow 1966, p. 17.

The skull (one tiny sculptured skull was found, by the way, at Adzhina Tepe, the early medieval Buddhist monument in southern Tajikistan) was an element of the headdress of many of the demons of the Buddhist pantheon : the guardian deity Saṃvara and his female counterpart Śakti, the guardian of the law Acala and the female deities Vajravārāhī Śrīdevī and the ḍākinī. The crowns these deities wear consist of from five to seven skulls.[203] But the skull was not the exclusive attribute of these ominous guardians of the faith, for two of the sculptured figures at Haḍḍa have a skull in their hands.[204]

Bulatova-Levina's identification of the head as that of Śrīdevī or Śrīmatī devī is correct, in our view. Śrīdevī was an ardent champion of the Buddhist doctrine, and was therefore the recipient of many of the attributes of the other deities, including Nanda, the snake. She and her companions fly over the bloody lake containing the blood of the murdered demons.[205]

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[201] V. A. Bulatova-Levina, *Buddiysky khram v Kuve*, pp. 246-247, fig. 5, including a reference to A. Gordon, *Tibetan Religious Art*, New York, 1952.

[202] V. A. Bulatova-Levina, *Buddiysky khram v Kuve*, pp. 247-249, fig. 6. In this connection we might mention that the head of the "Mañjuśrī" is surprisingly like the head in the statuettee which A. Grünwedel has defined as that of a *ḍākinī* ; see A. Grünwedel, *Obzor sobraniya predmetov lamaiskogo kulta*, pt. I, St. Petersburg, 1905 (Bibliotheca Buddhica, VI), p. 76 ; pt. II, St. Petersburg, 1905, table 9/194.

[203] S. F. Oldenburg, *Materialy no buddiyskoy ikonografii Khara-khoto*, pp. 49-53, 58-59.

[204] J. Barthoux, *Les fouilles de Haḍḍa*, III, pl. 39.

[205] For more details about her cult and atttributes, see A. Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei*, Leipzig, 1900, pp. 175-176, Abb. 52, 133, 148. For more about the role of the human skull in the Lamaistic ritual. see Golsan Gamboyev, *Obyasneniye semipalatinskikh drevnostei*, "Izvestiya Arkheologicheskogo obshchestva" vol. ii, Moscow, 1161, pp. 208-209.

This would allow us to define the other head not as that of Mañjuśrī, but as that of the ḍakinī Siṃhavaktrā, the constant companion of Śrīdevī, especially since she also wore a crown of skulls.[206] The lion (or tiger ?) face would similarly have a bearing on this scene, for the related Vyāghravaktrā also wore a tiger's head.[207] In venturing this hypothesis we do not deny the possibility that the second head may be of Mañjuśrī.[208]

Perhaps this temple contained a representation of the five Dharmapālas—Tib. Chos-skyoṅ or "Guardians of the Faith" (or "the Doctrine"), which also go by many other hypostases and names. One of the five is the leader. According to legend, he transported himself in a miraculous manner from Ujjain to one of the monasteries near Lhasa.

Usually they are all depicted together. The leader has three heads and six arms, is seated on a lion, wears a skirt made of tiger skin. He is the three-eyed deity. The four accompanying deities have one head and two arms each, and are mounted respectively on white elephant, lion, mule and horse. The one on the horse wears a garment of tiger's skin.[209] It is not precluded that the third head which was defined as that of Māra may be the head of one of the Dharmapālas.

Among the paintings at Balavaste there is a portrait of a four-armed and three-headed Buddhist deity of the tantric type, with a large skull (exactly as the one from *Adzhina* Tepe) set in the crown. The skull is depicted in the centre of the upper part of the crown. Bussagli refers this painting to the 7th-8th centuries A.D.[210]

Demoniacal characters are often encountered in the paintings at Kizyl, the sculptures at Tumchuq, etc. Take the sculptural figures at Tumchuq, with their prominent eyes, elongated ears, fangs protruding from the corners of their mouths (some of them almost identical with the Quvā sculptures). It has been correctly noted that they are not necessarily members of Māra's host which attacked the Buddha ; they may in fact belong to the Buddha's entourage and represent

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206. A. Grünwedel, *Mythologie...*, p. 177, Abb. 148-149.
207. *Ibid.*, p. 177.
208. On the iconography of that personality, see *ibid.*, p. 136 ; also B. A. Kuftin, *Kratky obzor panteona severnogo buddizma i lamaizma v svyazi s istoriey ucheniya*, Moscow, 1927, pp. 43-45 ; J. Hackin, *Guide-Catalogue du Musee Guimet. Les collections bouddhiques*, Paris-Bruxelles, 1923, pl. XVI.
209. A. Grünwedel, *Mythologie...*, pp. 182-184, Abb. 154.
210. M. Bussagli, *Painting of Central Asia*, pp. 60, 63-64.

guardians of Good and Order, expressing "the militant essence of the power of good."[211]

In the foregoing we mentioned some additional Tibetan material (part of it contributed by V. A. Bulatova-Levina, which may further our understanding of some Quvā sculptures. At the same time we would like to point out that many of the characters received their ultimate formation on Tibetan soil, imbibing Tibetan features, and that this took place at a later date than the creation of the Quvā sculptures. Therefore we should regard the demons of Ferghana as a link and a manifestation of the process of the transfer of the prototypes from India and Afghanistan to Eastern Turkistan and Tibet via Western Turkistan. From this vantage, particular interest attaches to the yakshīs from Haḍḍa[212] and the portraits of the demons at Adzhina Tepe and Quvā.[213]

The discovery of the Buddhist temple at Quvā refutes the report of Huei Ch'ao that "the Buddhist doctrine is unknown in Ferghana and there are no monasteries, no monks or nuns";[214] it turns out now that all these things were to be found in Ferghana! At the same time Huei Ch'ao may not have been as unreliable as at first sight appears. Quvā and its temple were situated in southern Ferghana, which at the time of his pilgrimage had already been conquered by the Arabs, and it is they in all probability who destroyed the Quvā temple.

Ustrūshana. The question of the religious affinities of the population of early medieval Ustrūshana is still not fully answered. Of course, it seems promising to try to use the material of the trial of Haydar, the Ustrūshanian afshīn who was accused in 841-842, among other things, of secretly practising the religion of his ancestors and giving the inhabitants of Soghd permission to continue the worship of their own religion. There are detailed descriptions of the course and materials of the trial in various works,[215] and therefore we shall dwell only on those points which have some bearing on our subject.

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[211] "Toumchouq", I, 1961, pl. LVIII, LXXIX-LXXX, XCIII ; "Toumchouq", II, 1964, pp. 263, 265. Also interesting in this connection are the heads of demons from Idikutshari (Eastern Turkistan) ; see A. Grünwedel, *Bericht über archaologische Arbeiten in Idikutschari und Umgebung im Winter* 1902-1903, München, 1905 (Abhandlungen d. Baerischen Akademie d. Wissenschaften, I Klasse, XXIV, I. Abteilung), pp. 72-73, Taf. XIII.

[212] J. Barthoux, *Les fouilles de Haḍḍa*, III, pl. 99-102.

[213] A certain Khotanese-Saka text speaks of the *yakaṣī* as a hungry monster, most horrific (H. W. Bailey, *Iranica et vedica*, "Indo-Iranian Journal", vol. ii, 1958, No. 2, pp. 152-156. It is perfectly possible that in Western Turkistan the demons and monsters of Buddhist mythology underwent changes in the popular imagination, merging with the local conceptions of such beings.

[214] W. Fuchs, *Huei-Ch'ao's Pilgerreise...*, p. 452.

The medieval sources state that the afshīn had punished two Muslims who had staged an attack on a temple housing idols worshipped by the inhabitants of Ustrūshana. In quoting this part of the story, Herzfeld adds that it was a Buddhist temple.[216] When the afshīn's courtyard in Samarra was searched, an idol was seen there—a wooden figure of a man, wearing among his various rich ornaments a pair of golden earrings set with precious stones. Other "indecent" images and idols were also found there. All these idols and images were later set on fire.

In translating and commenting on this excerpt, Herzfeld recalls that the idols sent from Kabul to Samarra in 250/864-865 must all have been Buddhist statues.[217] This hypothesis would seem to find support in the following circumstance known to us from Ṭabarī. A certain Khuttal ruler fled from the Arabs, first to Ferghana and from there to Ustrūshana, and we are told that he brought with him "great numbers of images" and set them up in Ustrūshana. "His flight to Ustrūshana and the fact that he chose it to set up his idols were hardly fortuitous", comments A. M. Belenitsky.[218] To this we might add that the Khuttala rulers (we have the direct evidence of the sources for saying so—see below) were known to be Buddhist adepts. And still all this is not enough to warrant the claim, as Herzfeld would have it, that the afshīn was incriminated precisely for practising the Buddhist faith. Against that we have the following counter-evidence. The main statue evidently wore golden earrings, and consequently could not be a figure of the Buddha. It could only have been a Bodhisattva. But it is hardly likely, considering the Hīnayāna character of Western Turkistan Buddhism, that a Bodhisattva would be the centre of worship.

The answer to the question of the relative place of Buddhism in Ustrūshana, where it must have played some role just as it did in Soghd, depends upon the further accumulation of archeological material. So far it has not given us the answer.

In Ustrūshana, and in Soghd too, local religions played the dominant role ; his subjects called afshīn Haydar "the god of gods." This was their form of address, Haydar said in his own exoneration, according to the custom of their forbears. At the trial this was the unjust charge levelled against Haydar. If one is to judge by the documents from Mug Mountain, the expression, as V. A. Livshitz has demonstrated, was not more than a polite form of address and had nothing to do with the concept of a supernatural deity.[219] Although the Muslims knew this (see W.B. Henning), they nevertheless regarded the idiomatic Soghdian expression with disapproval. Therefore they saw fit to accuse Haydar of trying to deify himself.[220]

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[215] E. Herzfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra*, Hamburg, 1948 ; N. Negmatov, *Ustrushana v drevnosti i rannem srednevekovye*, Stalinabad, 1957, etc.

[216] E. Herzfeld, *Geschichte...*, p. 148.

[217] *Ibid.*, p. 152.

[218] A. M. Belenitsky, *Voprosy ideologii...*, p. 59.

But it is also true that members of the ruling family of Ustrūshana were known by the names of Dīvdād and Dīvdast (Dīvdaśt), whose composition includes the word *dīv* (δew), applied here in the opinion of Henning in its original meaning of "god".[221] Paraphrasing Henning,[222] we might say that the religion of Zoroaster had some influence on the ancient paganism of the Ustrūshanians (which must have been very similar to that of the Soghdians). That ancient religious doctrine enjoyed the support of the rulers of Ustrūshana, which was one of the crimes of which afshīn Haydar was accused. It is characteristic that the use of ossuaries was part of the burial cult of the Ustrūshanians, as we know from recent archeological finds. It is also reasonable to assume that other religions had a following in Ustrūshana by the time of the Arab conquest.

Ṭukhāristān. From the reports of Buddhist pilgrims it appears that there were many (a hundred) functioning monasteries in Balkh, the capital of Ṭukhāristān, during the 7th and early part of the 8th century, that some 3000 monks resided in them, and that they housed all kinds of Buddhist cult objects ; a large section of the population followed the Hīnayāna school.[223]

Hsüan-Tsang recalled that is his day Ta-mi (Termez) had about ten monasteries inhabited by about 1000 monks, and containing stūpas and images of the Buddha. In Chaghāniyān, for instance, there were five monasteries and a definite number of monks, in Ākhārūn—two monasteries and about a hundred monks, in Shūmān—two monasteries and a small number of monks, in Quwādhiyān—three monasteries and about one hundred monks.[224]

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[219] V. A. Livshitz, *Yuridicheskiye dokumenty i pisma*, pp. 41, 92-93.

[220] W. B. Henning, *A Sogdian God*, p. 249 (here, too, on the semantic order of the development of the meaning of these terms).

[221] *Ibid.*, pp. 253-254. I. M. Oransky maintains that in these names, the word *dīv* is connected with those of its meanings in modern Tajik and Persian which relate it to the conception "of everything that is supernatural, extraordinary in might, strength, size, skill, artistry, etc." (I. M. Oransky, *Etimologicheskiye zametki*, "Izvestiya otdeleniya obshchestvennykh nauk AN Tadzhikskoi SSR", No. 12, 1957, pp. 7[illegible]-82.

[222] W. B. Henning, *A Sogdian God*, p. 250.

[223] S. Beal, *Buddhist Records...*, I, pp. 44-46 ; "The Life of Hsüan-Tsang" pp. 49-52 ; W. Fuchs, *Huei-Ch-ao's Pilgerreise...*, p. 449. Also A. Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres a Taxila*, MDAFA, vol. i, Paris, 1942, p. 84.

The Chinese sources have it that at the beginning of the 8th century, in the year 719, a ruler of Kumedh, one by the name of No-lo-yen, sent a mission to China. E. Chavannes has recognised in this name the Chinese version of the Indian form of Nārāyaṇa or some local variant of the word. J. Harmatta sees this as indisputable evidence that the deity Nārāyaṇa was popolar in this part of the world by the beginning of the 8th century.[225]

Hsüan-Tsang listed and briefly characterised the regions of Ṭukhāristān, among them Hu-sha (Vakhsh) and Kho-to-lo (Khuttal) but there is nothing about the spread of Buddhism there in his extremely laconical remarks about these regions.[226] Huei Ch'ao, on the other hand, told us that in Khuttal "the king, the aristocracy and the people believe in the *triratna*, there are monasteries and monks, and the Hīnayāna doctrine is followed". He had the same to say about Vakhān but not Shughnān, where, in the words of Huei Ch'ao, the Buddhist religion was not popular.[227]

The reports of Hsüan-Tsang and Huei Ch'ao on the spread of Buddhism in the northern part of Ṭukhāristān have been brilliantly confirmed by L. I. Albaum's discovery, during the diggings at Zang-tepe(30 km. from Termez) of fragments of birch-bark manuscripts, which came from the 7th and 8th-century layers at the site. The page that is in the best state of preservation is written in Central Asian Brāhmī letters in the hybrid Buddhist Sanskrit tongue.[228] According to M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, one of the decipherers of the documents in question, "in content the text is related to that part of the Buddhist Canon which is known as the Vinayapiṭaka or simply Vinaya. It consists of rules of conduct for monks, nuns and the Buddhist laity, regulates all sides of life, and sets down the rules for the monasteries".[229]

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[224] S. Beal, *Buddhist Records...*, I, pp. 39-40.

[225] E. Chavannes, *Documents...*, pp. 164, 204 ; J. Harmatta, *The Oldest Kharoṣṭhī Inscription,...* p. 6.

[226] S. Beal *Buddhist Records...*, I, p. 41.

[227] W. Fuchs, *Huei-Ch'ao's Pilgerreise...*, pp. 452-453.

[228] A. I. Albaum, *Pismennost iz zamka Zang-tepe* in "Obshestvenniye nauki v Uzbekistane", 1963, No. 2 ; A. I. Albaum, *Raskopki Zang-tepe*, in "Istoriya materialnoi kultury Uzbekistane", IV, Tashkent, 1963 ; A. I. Albaum, *Nakhodki dokumentov pismo m brahmi v Uzbekistane*, EV, XVI, 1963 ; A. I. Albaum, *Noviye raskopki v Zang-tepe i indiyskiye dokumenty*, in "Indiya v drevnosti".

[229] M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, *Nakhodka sanskritskikh rukopisei v*

The other documents from Zang-tepe (altogether there were 12 fragments, counting the one mentioned above, that could be read, as well as hosts of tiny pieces) are also written in variants of Brāhmī and are Buddhist in nature. Evidently, there was a collection of Buddhist texts deposited at Zang-tepe.[230]

We would like to point out also that the bulk of the written relics from Zang-tepe were found in special stratigraphic conditions, in layers linked with the decline of the monument, which followed in the wake of its reconstruction in the 7th century ; shortly afterwards it ceased to exist. But a few of the documents were found on the floors of the rooms, too. All this has evoked contradictory explanations by the investigators of the monument as to the circumstances under which the documents might have reached Zang-tepe. L. I. Albaum suggests that the manuscript found in this early medieval castle "belonged to a preacher or Buddhist monk who came to Central Asia to disseminate Buddhism" and thinks that "the discovered written relics show that some section of the population could read and write".[231] Another participant in the excavations at Zang-tepe, V. A. Nielsen, paints an entirely different picture. He says, "the premises of the castle, after they were abandoned by their principal residents, were then periodically inhabited for short periods by all kinds of newcomers. At one time it even housed a community of Buddhist monks, who left behind them some very valuable and rare relics of ancient writing..."[232]

During the second half of the 7th and first half of the 8th century, there must have been various situations when the monks, fearing persecution by the Arabs, hid their Buddhist manuscripts in the palatial residence of the local ruler or dihqkān who was either an adept of their religion or regarded it with sympathy.

We might note in passing that the translating activities of the natives of Ṭukhāristān continued all during this period. In 705, for instance, a Buddhist monk from Ṭukhāristān by the name of Mi-tho-shan—Mithros-anta (?)—translated a certain Buddhist composition into the Chinese language.[233]

In the modern and historical toponymics of southern Tajikistan, an important place belongs to the term *Pārkhar-Fārkhar*. This is the name of an

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Srednei Azii, "Narody Azii i Afriki", 1963, No. 3, p. 94 ; M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, *Pamyatniki indiyskoi pismennosti iz Srednei Azii*, in "Indiya v drevnosti".

[230] G. M. Bongard-Levin, M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, E. P. Tyomḳin, *Fragmenty sanskritskikh rukopisei iz Zang-tepe* (Preliminary account), VDI, 1965, No. I.

[231] A. I. Albaum, *Noviye raskopki* . , p. 208.

[232] V. A. Nilsen, *Stanovleniye feodalnoi arkhitektury Srednei Azii* (V-VIII veka), Tashkent, 1966, p. 172.

[233] B. Nanjio, *Catalogue*, col. 440, No. 147.

inhabited centre in Khuttal (now the district centre of Pārkhar) and simultaneously of a small river (the lower reaches of the Qizyl Su). In the 7th century, according to the "Hudūd al-'Ālam", the word was pronounced "Bārghar".[234] The word "p(f)ārhar", in the opinion of W. B. Henning, is a derivation from the Soghdian *Bry'r*, which in turn is derived from vihāra.[235]

Adzhina Tepe in the Vakhsh Valley, 12 kilometres off the town of Kurgan-Tübe, is the most important Buddhist monument in North Ṭukhāristān studied so far. Excavations of the monastery have been carried on by the present writer (together with T. I. Zeymal) since 1960. Preliminary publications cover an insignificant portion of the material,[236] and we shall therefore go into it in more detail here. Today, two-thirds of the site of Adzhina Tepe are uncovered—altogether, some 40 rooms and corridors. The monastery was rather small (perimetre, 100 x 50 metres). It consisted of two adjoining parts—two square courtyards, bounded by structures. The southern part had four bicameral structures in axial relation to one another : a deep īwān vestibule opening into the courtyard was linked by a pylon doorway with a square shrine. The bicameral structures, or rather their īwāns, were connected by elbow-shaped corridors forming the corners of the courtyard and offering access, on one side, to the inner court and, on the other, to the corridors of the outer row of structures and the tiny monastic cells.

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[234] W. Barthold, *Turkestan v epokhu mongolskogo nashestviya.* Pt. II. Issledovanye, "Sochineniya", vol. I, Moscow, 1963, pp. 118-119 ; A. M. Belenitsky, *Istoriko-geografichesky ocherk Huttalya s drevneishikh vremyon do X v.n.e.*, MIA, No. 15, Moscow Leningrad, 1950, pp. 120-123; Hudūd al-'Ālam, *The Regions of the World.* A Persian Geography 372 A. H.-982 A.D. Translated and explained by V. Minors, Oxford, 1937, pp. 71, 119, 208, 360-361. Lhasa was called "the Great Pārkhar", or "Great Vihāra" in the medieval Parsian-language sources (Hudṇd al-'Ālam, *The Regions of the World*, pp. 94, 262-263).

[235] W. B. Henning, *Sogdian Loan-words...*, p. 94, note 4. This disposed of the previously suggested Benveniste etymology , see Hudūd al-'Ālam, *The Regions of the World*, p 263, note 2.

[236] See T. I. Zeymal, *Arkheologischeskiye raboty v Vakhshskoi doline v 1960 g.*, in "Arkheologisheskiye raboty v Tadzhikistane, VIII, 1960 god", Dushanbe, 1962, pp. 45-47 ; B. A. Litvinsky, T. I. Zeymal, *Raskopki i razvedki v Yuzhnom Tadzhikistane v 1961 g.*,—in "Arkheologisheskiye raboty v Tadzhikistane. IX 1961 god", Dushanbe, 1964 ; B. A. Litvinsky, *Tadzhikistan i India (primery drevnikh svyazei i kontaktov)*,—in "Indiya v drevnosti", p. 159 ; B. A. Litvinsky, *Recent Archaeological Discoveries in South Tajikistan and Problems of Cultural Contacts between the Peoples of Central Asia and Hindustan in Antiquity*, Moscow. 1967, pp. 4-8.

The northern part of the monastery shows the same general layout, but with a few modifications. Disposed along the northern facade were six small square shrines, three on either side of the bicameral structure (the opposite southern facade has two much shrines on either side); the corridors are much longer (their sections here are as long as 16.5 metres). The most important difference, however, is that the centre of the court in this part of the monastery was taken up by a massive stūpa, whose cruciform stepped base supported a cubic middle part, with a spherical top over it. The stūpa could be ascended by double flights of stairs on each of its four sides.

The layout is strictly symmetrical. All the structures are square or rectangular in plan. Miscalculations in laying out the sides did not exceed 3 or 5 cm. Actually the composition of both parts of the monastery is identical, following as it does the four-īwān pattern.

All the structures of Adzhina Tepe were built of pakhsa (clay blocks) and large-size unbaked bricks (50 x 25 x 10 cm). The rectangular rooms and the corridors had vaults built with vertical-inclined semi-circular courses of unbaked bricks, and the square shrines had brick domes. Coins (over 300 pieces) and other finds give us the exact date of the monastery : it functioned in the 7th and early 8th centuries A. D.

The architecture of Adzhina Tepe is highly interesting and original. The conception of a Buddhist monastery was fulfilled in the local traditions of Western Turkistan architecture.

The signal feature of Adzhina Tepe is the abundance of sculptures and paintings unearthed there. The cella of the bicameral set of the southern side (7 x 7 metres) once housed sculptures, resting on two-tier wall pedestals. The sculptures were thrown down on the floor when the monastery was destroyed. There were also seated and standing figures on the pedestals of the cella in the bicameral set of the northern side. In the middle of two tiny cellae on this side stood miniature stūpas with very intricate profiles ; the other shrines also contained statuary. The corridors round the great stūpa in the northern part of the monastery had vaulted niches holding pedestals (sometimes of the console type) ; the pedestals supported large Buddha figures (one and a half times life size). Some of the figures (in dharmacakra-mudrā and dhyāna-mudrā) have been preserved.

A wall pedestal in one of the corridors supported a huge recumbent figure of the Buddha in nirvāṇa. It was 12 metres long.

All the sculptures and reliefs were made of clay and then painted. They suffered great damage at the time of the monastery's destruction. Comparatively few whole sculptures have been unearthed so far, but the number of sculptured heads and fragments of statues and reliefs is about 500. This is the largest collection of relics of Buddhist art from the territory of Western Turkistan. Characters of the Buddhist pantheon (Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Devatās), heads of monks and ascetics were the sculptors' main subject. The rooms and corridors were decorated with reliefs depicting human heads and processions of birds and animals, as well as geometrical and herbaceous designs. The statues were mostly made by pressing and finished subsequently.

Along with the idealised figures executed in keeping with the religious canons, Buddhist sculpture from Western Turkistan includes a large group of figures treated quite realistically. This is a general characteristic of Buddhist art. The idealised, canonical types of the Buddha and Bodhisattva images (though they show marked evolution in time and have strong, sometimes striking, local distinctions in different countries and areas)[237] were combined with other realistically treated personages, which only had certain traditional attributes. Sculptures from Haḍḍa (Afghanistan) [238] afford a graphic example.

The walls of many rooms and corridors were covered with paintings applied on the plaster layer. On the southern side, the pedestals were painted, too. The corridors round the great stūpa had painted plafonds.

Buddha images dominate the paintings. Thus, all the plafonds show row upon row of small seated Buddha figures in padmāsana (with legs drawn under). But sometimes there are other personages and scenes. Of great interest is the surviving fragment of a scene showing Buddnist devotees offering gifts. There are two male figures (height, 45 cm.) in white garments, sitting with their legs drawn under them. In their outstretched hands they hold gifts : vessels with flowers (judging by the colour, one vessel was gold, the other silver). The gift-bearers' flowing garments fully cover their bodies. The waists are belted, with a sword and a dagger attached to the belt.

The scene clearly reproduced the Buddhist praṇidhā ceremony (bringing offerings to a shrine).[239] Similar scenes have been registered in many areas of Buddhist art, including the brilliant frescoes of Sigiriya (Ceylon)[240] and the wall painting of Eastern Turkistan.[241] The characters depicted at Adzhina Tepe are most probably local noblemen bringing gifts to the monastery. In appearance they are much like the figure in the paintings from Balalyk-tepe[242], a site situated relatively by, in southern Uzbekistan. The likeness is probably due to the fact that in both cases the painters were portraying members of the local nobility—and employing rather similar artistic manners.

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[237] For details, see B. Rowland, *The Art an Architecture of India : Buddhist, Hindu, Jain*, London, 1959.

[238] See J. Barthoux, *Les foulles de Haḍḍa.* III.

[239] See A. Grünwedel, *Kratkiye zametki 0 Buddiyskom iskusstve v Turfane*, St. Petersburg, 1908 ; B. A. Litvinsky, T. I. Zeymal, *Buddiysky syuzhet v sredneaziatskoi zhivopisi*, SE, 1968, No. 3.

[240] See V. A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 3rd ed., Bombay, (s.a.), pp. 99-100, pl. 90-91; A. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London-Leipzig-New York, 1927, pl. LI.

Adzhina Tepe gives us an idea of the Buddhist art of Ṭukhāristān—what is more, a comprehensive idea of it, since the site has both paintings and sculptures.

Following the discovery of Balalyk-tepe with its paintings, A. M. Belenitsky wrote : "Apart from the fact that this discovery had added to the general picture of the development of fine arts in Western Turkistan, the paintings of Balalyk-tepe are of tremendous significance in yet another respect : they are the links that plainly relate the art of Western Turkistan with that of contiguous lands, primarily Afghanistan and Eastern Turkistan."[243] This statement can be supplemented in the light of the discoveries at Adzhina Tepe : today we know both the painting and the sculpture of Ṭukhāristān. The opinion voiced in the literature (as by L. I. Rempel) that in the 7th century "the artist's creativity in religious (Buddhist) art was fading out"[244] is totally negated by the material from Adzhina Tepe, for it was precisely in the 7th and early 8th centuries that Buddhist artistic creativity reached its peak in Ṭukhāristān and all of Western Turkistan ; the sculptures from Adzhina Tepe have taken an honoured place in the gallery of masterpieces of Buddhist art.

We are beginning to see now that Adzhina Tepe art draws certain—and quite important—features from Gandhāran art. Its ties with the late-Gandhāran sculptures from Haḍḍa are traceable. There are definite evidences of the Gupta tradition, and, undoubtedly, parallels with Eastern Turkistan sculpture. At the same time, affinities with Fondukistan (circa 7th century A. D.) are particularly strong.

The sculptures of Adzhina Tepe have quite a few points of similarity with those of Fondukistan.[245] The overall resemblance is very marked, despite certain distinctions.

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[241] See A. Grünwedel, *Berichte über archaeologische Arbeiten in Idikutschari und Umgebang im Winter 1902-1903*, München, 1905, Abb. 144, Taf. II/I ; XVII ; A. Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstatten in Chinèsisch Turkistan*, Berlin, 1912, pp. 43, 184 et seq., figs. 256-266, 544-567 et seq.

[242] See L. I. Albaum, *Balalyk-tepe*, Tashkent, 1960, figs. 107, 109.

[243] A. M. Belinitsky, *Noviye pamyatniki iskusstva Drevnego Pjanjikenta. Opyt ikonograficheskogo istolkovaniya*,—in "Skulptura i zhivopis Drevnego Pjanjikenta", Moscow, 1959, pp. 23-34.

[244] G. A. Pugachenkova, L. I. Rempel, *Istoriya iskusstv Uzbekistana...*, p. 161.

B. Rowland has pointed to a highly pronounced Indian strain in the art of Fondukistan, traceable not to Gupta, but to much earlier creations. Some of the Fondukistan images, in his opinion, are the sculptural replicas of the "Indian style" sculptures of Bāmiān.[246]

M. Bussagli has stressed the strong influence exercised by Western Turkistan art on the art of Fondukistan, notably by the paintings and sculptures of Pjanjikent and the paintings of Balalyk-Tepe. At the same time, like Rowland, he points to the obvious Indian character of some of the Fondukistan works, even though these came under a Western Turkistan influence. In the opinion of Bussagli, Indian and Western Turkistan elements "complete the fusion" in Fondukistan.[247]

The "Indian" strain is not so pronounced in the sculptures of Adzhina Tepe. This may be due to the strong influence of the local, Bactrian-Ṭukhāristān traditions mentioned above.

These traditions of local secular art not only had an impact on, and repercussions in, the Buddhist art of Adzhina Tepe : in some instanees they ceased to be the undercurrent and formed the mainstream—e.g., in the gift-bearers' scene (painting) and the heads of a "Brahmin" and a monk (sculpture). That these are the portraits of the monk and the "Brahmin" that stand out from the mass of sculptures is not fortuitous—see the material from Eastern Turkistan.[248]

The two above-mentioned sculptured heads of elderly men from Adzhina Tepe, though they differ from one another and evidently represent different ethnic types, clearly portray dwellers of Ṭukhāristān. In spite of a certain measure of Indo-Buddhist traditionalism, the artistic impression conveyed by the two sculptures certainly relates them in essence more to the Bactrian school of realistic sculpture.

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[245] See J. Hackin, *Le monastere boudhique de Foundukistan*, MDAFA, vol. viii, Paris, 1959, pp. 49-59 ; B. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India...*, p. 103 ; Ph. Stern, *Avant-propos*, MDAFA, vol. viii, Paris, 1959, p. X ; B. Rowland, *Ancient Art from Afghanistan : Treasures of the Kabul Museum*, The Asian Publishing House, 1966, pp. 116-118.

[246] B. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India...*, p. 103.

[247] M. Bussagli, *Painting of Central Asia*, Geneva, 1963, pp. 40, 48.—On the "Gandhāra tradition" in the sculpture of Fondukistan, see H. G. Franz, *Buddhistische Kunst Indiens*, Leipzig, 1965, pp. 110-111.

[248] See A. Grünwedel, *Kratkiye zametki...*, p. 4.

Thus, even the fraction of painted and sculptured decorations unearthed at Adzhina Tepe tells of a vital school of Ṭukhāristān-Buddhist art. This school sprang up and drew sustenance from both Indian and Bactrian roots ; a synthesis of the artistic achievements of both countries accounts for the originality of Ṭukhāristān-Buddhist art.

In its turn, it exerted a telling influence on the art of other parts of Western Turkistan and the contiguous lands. M. Bussagli has called attention to the impact which the art centres of Western Tūrkistan (not Iran !) had on the early medieval art of Afghanistan and Eastern Turkistan ; in his opinion, it was precisely the art of Western Turkistan that possessed "styles and trends...either unknown to Sassanian art or as yet undocumented." Bussagli noted further : "We may therefore assume that certain trends which developed in the Serinidian centres were in reality echoes of the East Iranian (Western Turkistan—*B. L.*) creations".[249]

This idea, first voiced by Soviet researchers, is thus being increasingly recognised by their colleagues abroad.[250] However, only with the excavations of Adzhina Tepe have we gained a comprehensive idea of western Turkistan Buddhist art, as exemplified by its Ṭukhāristān school. The masterpieces of Adzhina Tepe give us a deeper and broader insight into the evolution of art both in Western Turkistan and all of Central Asia, as well as the contribution made by the peoples of the former to the development of Oriental culture.

The above suggests our considering two problems : 1) the extent of the spread of Buddhism in Ṭukhāristān, and 2) the nature of Buddhism in Western Turkistan.

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249. M. Bussagli, *Painting of Central Asia*, p. 36.
250. Some scholars, however, continue to cling to their old views—among them B. Rowland, the eminent authority on Buddhist and Oriental art. In a review of Bussagli's book he writes : "Perhaps the chief fault of Bussagli's book is the assumption that there is such a thing as Central Asian (Western Turkistan—*B.L.*) painting". Rowland does not recognise either Western Turkistan or Eastern Turkistan art as independent phenomena. The former, in his opinion, "was in many ways an extension of forms and motifs of Sassanian and classic origin with some slight admixture of Indian elements", "an infiltration of Iranian, Indian and classical elements that combine to form a provincial synthetic reflection of all of these sources" ("Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies", vol. 25, 1965, pp. 248-252). With all due respect for the brilliant works of Prof. Rowland, I find this conception of his completely erroneous ; it is at variance with the facts.

Was Huei Ch'ao exaggerating when he stated that in Ṭukhāristān, and specifically in Khuttal, not only the kings and the nobles but also the people adhered to Buddhism ? We think he was a little guilty of exaggeration. Suppose we reformulate the question : Was Buddhism part and parcel of the life of Ṭukhāristān's people, or was it mainly the religion of the urben dwellers (as assumed, for example, by A. von Gabain) ?[251] In Eastern Turkistan and China the spread of Buddhism was indeed confined to the urban milieu,[252] and this may initially have been the case in Western Turkistan too. But in the 7th and early 8th centuries there were not merely some urban nests of Buddhism in Western Turkistan : the rural population, too, embraced Buddhism to a certain extent. Aside from Huei Ch'ao, this is definitely corroborated by the archaeological relics—primarily Adzhina Tepe and Zang-Tepe—of "non-urban" Buddhism.

Students of early Chinese Buddhism have found the "co-existence" of the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna to be its characteristic feature. We might note that no trace of the Mahāyāna can be found in the translations of An Shihkao and his closest associates. This veteran translator himself founded a Hīnayāna school. It is true that Mahāyānist works appeared as early as the 2nd century. But even in the 4th century preachers coming to China from Ṭukhāristān were authorities on the components of the Hīnayāna[253]—the prevailing trend in Western Turkistan of Buddhism to the very end. Judging by the catalogues of translated works,[254] not only were many of the Buddhist scholars from Western Turkistan familiar with the works reflecting the Mahāyāna doctrine, but engaged in their translation. This might indicate some developments totally unknown to us and connected with possible attempts at spreading the Mahāyāna doctrine in Western Turkistan—perhaps even a struggle between the zealots of the Small and the Great Vehicle, as was the case, for example, in Khotan in the second half of the 3rd century A.D.[255]

According to I-Tsing (7th century), "those who worship the Bodhisattvas and read the Mahāyāna Sūtras are called the Mahāyānists (the Great), while those who do not perform these are called the Hīnayānists (the small)." But I-Tsing, too, recognised the difficulty of classifying certain schools as Hīnayānist or Mahāyānist.[256] Finds of written records tell us that monks from the monasteries in the south of Western Turkistan studied works of the Hīnayāna doctrine ; outside Western Turkistan, they preached the Hīnayāna and translated its basic works ; passing Buddhist pilgrims called them Hīnayānists. This does not imply, however, that the Bodhisattvas were not honoured in the monasteries of Western Turkistan. The iconography of Adzhina Tepe statuary shows that Bodhisattva images were fashioned and kept in the monasteries along with those of the Buddha and the characters associated with his life. But the Bodhisattvas had not yet come to the fore there, and their cult was not independent.

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[251] See A von Gabain, *Buddhistische Türkmenmission*, p. 166.

[252] See E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China...*, p. 59.

[253] See E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China...*, pp. 33-34, 54, 72, 202-204.

[254] See B. Nanjio, *Catalogue*, cols 381 et seq.

[255] See E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China...*, pp. 62-63.

[256] I-Tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago* (*A.D*, 671-695), Oxford, 1896, pp. 14-15 ; see also

Last but not least, Western Turkistan Buddhism seems to have had its specialities both as regards its creed and rituals. This is borne out by the direct evidence of I-Tsing to the effect that the *upavasatha* ceremony, as it was performed in such lands as Tukhara (Ṭukhāristān) and Su-li (Soghd), differed from its counterpart in other countries.[257]

Merv. The history of Buddhism in Merv in the early Middle Ages is likewise illustrated by very interesting archaeological material. A vessel containing Sassanian coins of the 5th century A. D. was found in ancient Merv, east of Gyaur-kala, in a Buddhist shrine[258] beyond the town wall. The vessel also contained stone statuettes of the Buddha executed in the Gandhāran tradition, and birch-bark mauuscripts.[259] M. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya and E. Tyomkin were able to identify these as Vinaya manuscripts in the Brāhmī writing.[260]

The finds at Merv and all that is known on the spread of Buddhism, Christianity and Manichaeism there, knock the ground from under the artificial

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O. Franke, *Die Ausbreitung des Buddhismus...*, p. 216. According to I-Tsing, in northern India and the South Sea Islands, the people mostly adhered to the Hīnayāna, while in China they adhered to Māhayāna (*A Record...*, p. 14). On the location and correlation of the number of monasteries and the size of the adherents of the Hīnayāna and the Māhayāna (on the basis of the data of Fa-Hsien, Hsüan-Tsang and Huei Ch'ao), See E. Lamottee, *Sur la formation du Mahāyāna,*—in "Asiatica", Leipzig, 1954, pp. 392-396.

[257] See I-Tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion...*, p. 49.

[258] This is a different shrine, not the one mentioned on pp. 29-36.

[259] See M. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, E. Tyomkin, *Indiyskiye rukopisi v Turkmenii,* "Nauka i zhizn", 1966, No. 1, p. 26 ; V. I. Sarianidi, Z. I. Usmanova, *Yuzhno-Turkestanskoi arkheologicheskoi kompleksnoi ekspeditsii dvadtsat let*, SA, 1967, No. 1, p. 316.

[260] In the light of new discoveries it seems likely that the well-known Murghab caves do have a direct bearing on Buddhism—in spite of the repeatedly expressed opinion to the contrary.

conception of E. Herzfeld, who opposed Merv as a centre and bastion of Zoroastrianism to Balkh as a centre of Buddhism.[261] What is more, the discovery of the Vinaya manuscripts enables us to elaborate the problem discussed above. As M. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya has kindly informed us, the Vinaya contains a direct indication that this is the Sarvâstivādin version. Ṭukhāristān's Buddhists, too, apparently belonged to the Sarvâstivādin school. In any case, the colophon of the Turkic version of Maitrisamiti names as its compiler Aryacandra Bodhisattva—a Vaibhāṣika adherent and a native of Nagardeshi (probably Jalālābād on the Kabul River). Thus a native of southern Ṭukhāristān belonged to the Vaibhāṣika school[262]—the school that prevailed in Ṭukhāristān in the Kushan period. The Vaibhāṣika is known to have been a component of the Sarvâstivādin doctrine.

Thus, on the eve of the Arab conquest, Buddhism was still firmly entrenched in many parts of Western Turkistan. Arab writers who studied the history of religion were well aware of this. An-Nadīm said : "The majority of people in Māwarā'-an-nahr adhered to this creed (the Buddhist—*B.L.*) before Islam and in ancient times."[263]

Although E. Herzfeld's assertion that the entire eastern part of Iran was converted to Buddhism[264] is a slight over-statement, on the whole it is undoubtedly true. The sources describing the Arab conquest repeatedly speak of the destruction or capture of idols or "houses of idols".[265] The question of which religion one or another idol represented cannot be settled with certainty, but some of them may have been Buddhist idols.

The end of Buddhism in Western Turkistan is usually connected with the Arab conquest. This assumption is not fully correct. Below are cited data for the Bāmiān valley. Let us not forget that even in the north of Western Turkistan in Semirechye which lay beyond the solid nucleus of Arab-conquered lands—Buddhist cult structures continued to exist and new ones were built. These were discovered and investigated by A. B. Bernshtam, who dated them in the 9th-12th

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261. See E. Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sassanian Coins*, MASI. No. 38, Calcutta, 1930, pp. 13-14. (A long stage, from the Arsacid period to the end of the Sassanian period, is meant here).
262. See H. W. Bailey, *Ttaugara*, BSOS, 1937, vol. viii, pt. 4, pp. 894-895.
263. W. Barthold, *O khristianstve v Turkestane v domongolsky period*, "Sochineniya", vol. II, 2, Moscow, 1964, p. 269. Also see G. Flügel, *Mani*, p. 386 ; S. Navdi, *The Origin of the Barmakids*, "Islamic Culture. The Hyderabad Quarterly", vol. vi, No. 1, 1932, p. 5.
264. E. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster and His World*, vol. ii, p. 275.
265. Detailed information on the question is given in the works of W. Barthoid and A. M. Belenitsky.

centuries.[266] A characteristic feature is the persistence of tradition : Buddhist cult structures continued to exist in the 9th-10th centuries,[267] as at the site of Ak-Beshim, whose temples have been discussed in detail above.

There is much that is obscure in the history of Buddhism in Semirechye. We know that in 762-845, Manichaeism became the Uigurs' official religion and that the Buddha images worshipped before were burned. In Semirechye itself Manichaeism was also spreading ; in the 8th century, the khāqān of the Western Turks was regarded as the great protector of all Manichaeans of the East, up to China.[268] The desolation into which the first and second Ak-Beshim temples fell may be associated with that particular period.

The sources indicate, however, that gradually the importance of Buddhism was again enhanced. By the 10th century it had won many supporters among the Turks, Soghdians, Sakas, Tokharians and Chinese in Eastern Turkistan. One may speak not only of the revival but even of the flourishing of Buddhism at that time.[269] Similar processes were apparently taking place in Semirechye, where the survival of Buddhism was facilitated by the decline of the Samanid state by the middle of the 10th century.

The short-lived revival of Buddhism in Western Turkistan is associated with the Mongol conquest. The Buddhist shrine at Merv, dated in the second half of the 13th century, commemorates that process. Judging by the remains of its decor, it was fitted out in keeping with Far Eastern traditions ; its architecture was on the whole eclectic.[270]

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[266] See A. M. Bernshtam, *Trudy Semirechenskoi arkheologicheskoi ekspeditsii "Chuiskaya dolina"*, MIA, No. 14, Moscow-Leningrad, 1950, pp. 48-55, 131-133, 139-140 ; A. N. Bernshtam, *V gorakh i dolinakh Pamira i Tyan-shanya,*—in "Po sledam drevnikh kultur. Ot Volgi do Tikhogo okeana", Moscow, 1954, pp. 295, 302.

[267] On the date of these structures, see L. R. Kyzlasov, *Issledovaniya...*, p. 236 (Note 100).

[268] See A. von Gabain, *Der Buddhismus in Zentralasien*, pp. 506-507.

[269] See *ibid.*, p. 507. Written records from Tibet, speaking of the spread of Buddhism in the 10th cantury, mention a river which is sometimes linked with Yaxartes-Syr Darya (see S.Ch Das, *On the Kāla Cakra System* of *Buddhism which Originated in Orissa*, "Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1907", Calcutta, 1908, vol. III, pp. 225-227). Such localisation, however, rests, as pointed out by M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, on a very shaky foundation : a mythical, not a real river is obviously meant in the text.

[270] See A.G. Pugachenkova, *Buddiyskaya kumirnya v Merve*, KSIIMK, fasc. VI, 1954 ; A.G. Pugachenkova, *Puti razvitiya arkhitektury Yuzhnogo*

The last wave of Buddhism, vested already in the Lamaistic form, was connected with the Kalmyks' arrival in the northern part of Western Turkistan. Documentary evidence—among others, the famous "om maṇi pad-me hūm" formula—occurs in many places in the north of Western Turkistan.

Of particular importance for research is the problem of the role of Buddhism and the associated elements of secular culture and art in the further development of Western Turkistan culture after the Arab conquest and the introduction of Islam. Actually, this is a component of the more general problem of the "pre-Muslim" cultural heritage of the peoples of Western Turkistan. Hardly any research has been done from this particular angle, and many things are still obscure. We cannot deal with all the aspects of this interesting problem in the present work, but we shall discuss a few points.

Above we have endeavoured to show that Islam in Western Turkistan fell on far from "virginal" (irreligious) soil. Therefore, in considering the further evolution of Islam one should not underestimate the pre-Muslim background, including the Buddhist. This is all the more important because some of the pre-Muslim priests attained to high prominence in the Caliphate. Suffice it to mention Yaḥyā ibn Khālid, whose ancestor was a high-ranking priest in the Buddhist monastery at Balkh—a Barmak (according to E. Sachau, the word "Barmak" came from "paramaka," meaning abbot of the vihāra, superior).[271] Yaḥyā ibn Khālid became Hārūn al-Rashīd's all powerful wazīr. At the same time, it was this very man (as an-Nadīm specially pointed out)[272] who sponsored the systematic translation of Indian writings into Arabic. V. Minorsky has established that Yaḥyā ibn Khālid sent an envoy to India, who was to bring back medicinal herbs

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Turkmenistana pory rabovladeniya i feodalizma,—in "Trudy YuTAKE", vol. VI, Moscow, 1958, pp. 351-357.

[271] See I. Y. Krachkovsky, *Fragment indiyskoi retoriki v arabskoi peredache,* "Izbranniye sochineniya", vol. II, Moscow-Leningrad, 1956, p. 315; A. B. Khalidov, V. G. Erman, *Vvedeniya,*—in Abureikhan Biruni, "Izbranniye proizvedeniya", II, Tashkent, 1963, pp. 10-11; E. C. Sachau, *Preface,*—in "Alberuni's India", I, pp. XXXI-XXXII; W. Barthold, *Barmakiden, EL, I,* Leyden-London, 1913, pp. 663-666; S. Nadvi, *The Origin of the Barmakids,* "Islamic Culture", vol. 6, 1932, pp. 19-28; S. Nadvi, *Literary Relations between Arabia and India,* "Islamic Culture", vol. 6, 1932, pp. 624-641, vol. 7, 1933, pp. 83-94.

[272] See S. Nadvi, *The Origin of the Barmakids,* p. 26. Also see E. C. Sachau, *Preface,*—in "Alberuni's India", p. XXXI.

and collect information on Indian religions. The efforts of this envoy were an important source of knowledge of India for the Caliphate scholars.[273]

All Buddhist institutions were far from destroyed or stopped functioning immediately after the Arab conquest.[274] A case in point is Bāmiyān, where Buddhism flourished at the time of Hsüan-Tsang. J. Marquart and W. Barthold cite the following with regard to Bāmiyān : though the ruler of Bāmiyān embraced Islam under Caliph Mansūr (754-775), a Buddhist monastery existed in Bāmiyān for another 100 years, up to the time when the area was seized by Yaqūb ibn-Laith (the monastery was raided in 870).[275] The history of afshīn Haydar indicates that there could be similar cases in Western Turkistan at least till the 830's.

All this must have been felt at the time when the Samanid state realised the need for setting up special theological schools. Thus arose the madrasahs, and at first they had their "brithmarks"—the result of their genetic ties with the Buddhist monasteries.

Inasmuch as the latest archaeological excavations in Western Turkistan (Adzhina Tepe) have yielded very interesting material helping to solve this problem, let us discuss the rise of the madrasah at greater length.

The madrasahs of Western Turkistan—and many beyond its confines—had inner courts laid out in the four-īwān composition. Tracing the origin of this composition is regarded by students of the history of architecture as the key to establishing the genesis of the architectural type of the madrasah.[276]

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[273] See A. B. Khalidov, V. G. Erman, *Vvedeniye...*, p. 12.

[274] See W. Barthold, *Der Iranische Buddhismus und sein Verhaltnis zum Islam*, —in "Oriental Studies in Honour of C. F. Pavry", London, 1933, pp. 30-31.

[275] See J. Marquart, *Erānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i*, p. 92 ; W. Barthold's review of MDAFA, vol. II,—in "Iran", fasc. III, Leningrad, 1929, pp. 244-245.

[276] See K. A. Creswell, *The Origin of the Cruciform Plan of Cairene Madrasas*, "Bulletin de l'Institut Francais d'archéologie orientale", vol. XXI, Le Caire, 1923 ; E. Diez, *Architecture des mosqueés* (Masjid, III), EI, III, Leiden-Paris, 1936, p. 431 ; E. Herzfeld, *Damascus : Studies in Architecture, II*, "Ars Islamica", Ann Arbor, 1943, vol. X, pp. 13-30 ; A. Godard, *L'origine de la madrasa, de la mosqueé et du caravansérail á quatre iwans*, "Art Islamica", 1951, vol. XV-XVI ; A. Godard, *L'art de l'Iran*, Paris, 1962, pp. 345-346 ; G. A. Pugachenkova, *Puti razvitiya arkhitektury Yuzhnogo Tadzhikistana...*, pp. 340-341 ; S. G. Khmelnitsky, *Arkhitekturny kompleks Khodzha Mashad v selenii Sayet*,—in "Voprosy arkhitektury i gradostroitelstva" (Papers for the 22nd scientific conference), Leningrad, 1965, p. 38.

After the excavation of Adzhina Tepe, the conjectures as to the date of the rise of the four-īwān composition had to be revised. In its fully developed form, this composition existed in the south of Western Turkistan at least in the 7th century—moreover, in a Buddhist cult structure.[277]

Later, in the Middle Ages, the four-īwān composition occurred in Northern Khorāsān (10th-12th centuries), and it continued to develop and spread in the following centuries. The Kyrk-kyz of Termez, dated in the 9th century, is the earliest case of the employment of this composition in the medieval architecture of Māwarā' an-nahr. Other early examples of the use of the four-īwān composition in Māwarā' an-nahr include the 10th-century building (mosque) of the Varakhsha citadel[278] and the 11th-century architectural complex in the village of Sayat (Shaartuz District, southern Tajikistan), which S. A. Khmelnitsky believes to be a madrasah. The Nizâmiye Madrasah in Khardjird (late 11th century) is one of the oldest specimens extant of the embodiment of the four-īwān composition in the Middle Ages. Could it be fortuitous that there were madrasahs among the first Muslim cult buildings with the four-īwān composition ? The answer is obviously no. W. Barthold in his time suggested the possibility of links between the Buddhist monastery and the Muslim madrasah when he wrote : "The Muslim higher theological schools, madrasahs, appeared on the eastern outskirts of the Caliphate earlier than in its central and western regions ; it is highly probable that in this respect Islam was influenced by Buddhism, and the madrasah first appeared on both banks of the Amu Darya, on territories adjoining Balkh, where Buddhism predominated up to the Muslim conquest."[279]

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277. We do not propose here to go into the question of the initial stages of the genesis of the four-īwān composition. It is our conviction that this question, too, cannot be solved unless material on the history of Buddhist architecture is drawn upon, though isolated cases of this composition do occur in Western Turkistan as early as Achaemenian times (see Y. A. Rapport, M. S. Lapirov-Skoblo, *Raskopki dvortsovogo zdaniya na gorodishche Kalaly-Gyr I v* 1958 g.,—in "Materialy Khorezmskoi ekspeditsii", 6, Moscow, 1963, pp. 144-146, fig. 2) ; in Western-Parthian architecture (see SPA, I, London-New York, 1938, pp. 432-434, fig. 106), etc.

278. See A. M. Pribytkova, *Zdaniye Kyrk-Kyz kak obrazets stroitelnoi tekhniki IX v.*, "Arkhitekturnoye nasledstvo", fasc. 13, Moscow, 1961 ; V. A. Nilsen, *Varakhshskaya tsitadel*,—in "Trudy Instituta istorii i arkheologii AN UzSSR", fasc. VII, Tashkent, 1956, pp 66, fig. 18.

279. W. Barthold, *Ulugbek i yego vremya*, "Sochineniya", vol. II, Moscow

In spite of the direct evidence of Narshakhī (under the year 937) about the existence of madrasahs in Bukhara, R. N. Frye believes that 10th-century Bukhara had no madrasahs, the information of the source being an anachronism.[280] In his opinion, if madrasahs did appear at the very end of the Samanid dynasty, they were an innovation.[281] At the same time, Frye thinks that Bukhara had very old—perhaps the oldest—higher theological schools, that Bukhara rather than Balkh was the birthplace of the madrasah. According to Frye, Nizām al-Mulk merely copied the Bulkhara models when establishing the famous Nizamiye at Baghdad.[282] Not all of this scholar's hypotheses seem convincing but they certainly merit attention. We believe that a collation of Narshakhī's data with the data of authors who wrote at the close of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th centuries clearly reveals that there may have been madrasahs in Bukhara in the period indicated by Narshakhī. But the hypothesis about Bukhara being the birthplace of the madrasah is not fully grounded. The archaeological material accumulated so far, historico-architectural arguments and, finally, the evidence of Huei Ch'ao which has recently become known, all bear out W. Barthold's conclusion that Ṭukhāristān, the Ṭukhāristān domains of the Samanids, were the home of the madrasah.

Barthold has pointed out that the term madrasah does not occur in the records before the 10th century : "Moreover, at the time the term was evidently used only in the eastern areas and it was not before the second half of the 11th century that it was transferred to the West." Barthold stressed that the first mention of the madrasah is connected with Bukhara (937) ; later, in the second half of the 10th century, mention was made of the "fine madrasahs" of Nishapur, the madrasahs of Merv, etc. Speaking of the events of 1026, Bayhakī says that the Khuttal area had over 20 madrasahs. Barthold specially stressed this statement, regarding it as a proof of the possible links between the Buddhist monastery and the madrasah, since the Khuttal area gravitated to Balkh with its Buddhist

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1964, p. 30. At present, the Oriental origin of the madrasah is generally recognised. See R. N. Frye, *The History of Bukhara*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1954, p. 120. On the early history of the madrasah, see J. Pedersen, *Some Aspects of the History of the Madrasa,* "Islamic Culture. The Hyderabad Quarterly Review", vol. III, No. 4, 1929, pp. 525-537 ; A. S. Tritton, *Materials on Muslim Education in the Middle Ages,* London, 1957, pp. 102, et sq. ; G. Makdisi. *Muslim Institutions of Learning in Eleventh-Century Baghdad,* BSOAS. vol. XXIV, pt. I, 1961, pp. 1-56 ; A. L. Tibawi, *Origin and Character of al-Madrasah,* BSOAS, vol. XXV, pt 2, 1962, pp. 229-238.

[280] See R. N. Frye, *The History of Bukhara*, p. 131.

[281] See *ibid.*, p. 132.

[282] See *Ibid.*, p. 189.

manasteries.[283] The text of Huei Ch'ao, published after Barthold's death, is direct evidence of the fact that even in the 8th century (726) there were many Buddhist monasteries on the territory of Khuttal proper ; this is also borne out by some toponymic data (see above).

Thus, Adzhina Tepe with its four-īwān composition can be regarded not only as the starting-point of this architectural layout which was of such great importance in the following 1000-odd years, but, still more significantly as a convincing argument in favour of genetic ties between the Muslim madrasah and the Buddhist monastery, and of the origin of the madrasah in the territory of Ṭukhāristān.[284] It goes without saying that ties with India and Afghanistan and the influence of Buddhist architecture are also traceable in other types of Western Turkistan structures.[285]

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[283] W. Barthold, *Istoriya Kulturnoi zhizni Turkestana*, "Sochineniya", vol. ii, Moscow, 1963, p. 227. On the Khuttal madrasahs, see Abu'l'Faḍl Bayhakī, *Istoriya Masuda* 1030-1041, Tashkent, 1962, p. 207.

[284] Architecturally the madrasah was not a mere combination of "an Indo-Buddhist monastery, on the one hand, and the Khorāsān Iwan, on the other" (E. Diez, Masjid, EI, III, 1936, p. 431). In reality, the genesis of this type of architectural structure was far more complex.

[285] Of particular interest is the genesis of shrines with circumambulatory corridors, which attracted the attention of A. M. Belenitsky, V. L. Voronina, L. P. Zyablin and B. Y. Stavisky, each of whom contributed valuable ideas. Our conception with regard to the genesis of this form boils down to the following. The custom of ritual processions was widespread among different Indo-European (and non-Indo-European) peoples. The custom of making a ritual procession round the *stūpa*—*pradakṣiṇa*—became prominent in the Buddhist ceremonial at a very early time. Initially, the procession circled a capital structure—e.g. the *stūpa* at Sāñchi. However, when the idea of placing miniature *stūpas* within the buildings came into effect, the ceremony began to be performed round these *stūpas*.

The Buddhists regarded the pradakṣiṇa ceremony as a ritual act of no less importance than offerings of flowers, lamps and incense-burners. In some cases, the space round the *stūpa* was too narrow for *pradakṣiṇa*, but it was always reserved as a token of observing this ritual custom (see S. Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries...*, p. 13 et seq). We believe that the necessity of observing *pradakṣiṇa* in a small cella accounted for the building of a special circumambulatory corridor round the cella.

The fully established layout of the Iranian (and Western Turkistan)

Let us go back, however, to the relationship between the madrasah and the saṅghārāma and examine another aspect of this question. Monasteries were centres of Buddhist education, both theological and secular. The period of

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fire temlpe may have been used for that purpose. As early as Achaemenian times, we have the fire temple at Susa with a circumambulatory corridor. Parthian fire temples, specifically those in Seleucia on the Tigris, in Hatra and Kūhi-Khwādja, also developed this layout (see C. Hopkins, *The Parthian Temple*, "Berytus", VII, I, 1942, pp. 1-17 ; G. Widengren, *Die Religionen Iran*,—in "Die Religionen der Menschheit", vol. 14, Stuttgart, 1965, pp. 188-190). They are likewise represented in Sassanian architecture—e.g., the Bishapur temple dated in the second half of the 3rd century (see R. Ghirshman, *Iran : Parthians and Sessanians*, London, 1962, pp. 1 9-150, fig. 191). It is extremely important, on the one hand, that there were temples with circumambulatory corridors also in the Gandhāran area, e.g., the temple at Jaṇḍiāl, dated by J. Marshall in the 2nd or 1st centuries B.C. (J. Marshall, *Taxila*, I, pp. 225, 229) ; R. A. Jairazboy, when mentioning this in his book (*Foreign Influence in Ancient India*, Bombay, 1963, p. 154) does not make any conclusion as to the further evolution of this layout in Indian architecture. On the other hand, this layout occurs in the shrine of the Surkh Kotal temple in Bactria [see works by D. Schlumberger, in particular his latest article—*Le Temple de Surkh Kotal en Bactriane* (VI), JA, Paris, 1964, pp. 303-333, flg. 1]. On the links between the layout of the Surkh Kotal shrine and that of the Susa fire temple, see D. Schlumberger, *Descendents non mediterraneens*..., p. 145. As to Bactria, we have a far earlier specimen. Saksanohur, the palace-and-temple complex of the 3rd-2nd centuries B,C. (Pārkhar District, south Tajikistan), of whose excavations I am in charge, has an identical circumambulatory corridor. On the strength of the existence of this layout at Kara-Tepe alone, B. Y. Stavisky believes that this layout (in Buddhist structures) in all probability orginated in Bactria (Ṭukhāristān) in the Kushan period (see B. Y. Stavisky, *Nekotoriye voprosy istorii buddizma v Srednei Azii*,—in Doklady po ethnografii, fasc. I (4), Leningrad, 1965; p. 39). We would rather look for the emergence of this layout in a wider region, including, along with the above-mentioned, also Gandhāra : the layout was likely to have been assimilated by Buddhist architecture (and not arisen in it) in such an extensive region, against the background of interaction of Indo-Buddhist and Zoroastrian architectural ideas. At Haḍḍa (Bagh-Gai complex) we already find a a circumambulatory corridor running round a square cella with a *stūpa* instruction was very long, up to ten years.[286] By the early medieval period, the Buddhist monasteries' function of educating laymen had become more pronounced. The "syllabus" included both Buddhist theology and various secular subjects. There were two categories of pupils—Mānava and Brahmacārin. According to I-Tsing,[287] the Mānava studied chiefly Buddhist works, in preparation for retiring from the world and becoming Buddhist monks, while the Brahmacārin ("students") took up only secular subjects and had no intention of changing their way of life ; the latter category of pupils was quite numerous. The saṅgha, I-Tsing continues, was not obliged to maintain the "students," with the exception of cases when they performed some work necessary for the monastery. However, donations made for the express purpose of maintaining the "students" could be used to this end.[288]

In the opinion of a number of scholars, these "educational seminaries" under certain monasteries became "universities" of a kind, with a very long term of instruction. The Nālandā monastery stood out in this respect.[289] The aspirants had to take entrance examinations. "Students" received instruction in groups, each comprising several dozen people. Instruction was mostly oral, with the contents of the texts assimilated by heart ; reading was an auxiliary process. Debates were a feature of studies. Great merit was attached to citing texts by heart, expounding and interpreting them, and also to skilful debating.[290] The Nālandā monastery had a great many manuscripts, which were systematically copied.[291]

(B. 51), as well as a bicameral (B. 56) cella of the Īwān type (see J. Barthoux, *Les foulles de Haḍḍa.* I, pp. 159-167). The same composition occurs in certain Buddhist structures in India proper, for example at Saheth (Daya Ram Sahni, *Saheth*, ARASI, Calcutta, 1911, pp. 119-121, pl. XXXIV, XXVI). For parallels in Eastern Turkistan, see L. P. Zyablin, *Vtoroi buddiysky khram...*, pp. 17-18 In Western Turkistan, this composition spread widely, becoming much more complicated in the process.

[286] See R. K. Mookherjee, *Ancient Indian Edudation* (*Brahmanieal and Buddhist*), London, 1951, p. 402.

[287] See I-Tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion...*, pp. 105-106.

[288] See R. K. Mookherji, *Ancient Indian Education...*, pp. 541-547 ; S. Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries...*, pp. 326-332.

[289] This is discussed at great length by R. K. Mookerji in his work. Also see S. Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries...*, p. 327.

[290] See I-Tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion...*, pp. 177-178 ; R. K. Mookerji, *Ancient Indian Education...*, pp. 450-451, 497-499, 530-531 ; S. Dutt, *Buddhist Monk and Monasteries...*, pp. 332-336.

[291] See S. Dutt, *Buddhist Monk and Monasteries...*, pp. 342-343.

Even this cursory description shows that the Buddhist vihāra-saṅghārāma and the Muslim madrasah had many common features in regard to their status, functions, the organisation and nature of instruction. There relationship was much closer and more specific than W. Barthold could surmise in his day.[292] It is indicative that medieval authors were fully aware of this functional affinity. Thus, in 1243 Jūjānī took down the evidence of an eyewitness and participant in the events, who narrated that Ikhtiyār ad-Din Muḥammad Khallaj had seized a fortress and settlement in Northern India and killed its people; many books were found there, and then it transpired that the fortress and town constituted a madrasah : in the language of the Hindus, the word *bihar* (i.e., vihāra) meant "madrasah".[293]

Recounting this incident, Hāfiz-i Abrū notes that several Hindus were summoned and when they had looked at the books they said that the books showed the fortress and town as a madrasah, or, more exactly, a Buddhist manastery. In Raverty's opinion, this information can be traced to Jūzjānī's text.

We are far from equating the Buddhist manastery and the Muslim madrasah. Still, historico-architectural analysis, comparison of the educational functions of these institutions and the evidence of the sources (concerning both the time and place of the appearance of the first madrasahs, and the fact that the Muslims themselves regarded the Buddhist monasteries as madrasabs)—lead us to conclude that the Buddhist monastery played a prominent part in the origin of the Muslim madrasah.

According to E. C. Sachau, the influence of Indian science and literature reached Baghdad in two ways : some works were translated directly from Sanskrit, while others came by way of Iran and were initially translated from Sanskrit into Persian, and then from Persian into Arabic.[294] The latest discoveries and investigations stress the special place held by Western Turkistan (and Khorāsān) in the process of cultural relations with India.

Two streams of Indian culture closely intertwined in the Caliphate, one coming by way of Western Turkistan and Khorāsān, where traditions of contacts with Indian culture and Buddhism persisted (a stream assimilated and transformed in the melting pot of local civilisation), and another stream coming directly from India.

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[292] W. Barthold, *Istoriya kulturnoi zhizni Turkestana*, p. 227.

[293] The Persian text is quoted from : "The Tabaqāt-i Nāsiri," Calcutta, 1864 (the monastery of Odantapur is probably meant) ; also see H. M. Elliot, *History of India As Told by Its Own Historians*, vol. II, London, 1869, p. 306 ; "Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri," vol. I, London, 1881, p. 552 and notes.

[294] See E. C, Sachau, *Preface...*, pp. XXX-XXXI.

Here is a pertinent statement by I. Y. Krachkovsky : "The end of the 8th century may be regarded as the period when the influence of India was felt in different spheres of Arab culture. It is still difficult to discern such instances in the history of Islam's theological movents, particularly in Sufism, and the chronological boundaries may fluctuate considerably ; but this period undoubtedly marked the appearance of quite a number of literary works, such as 'The Book of Kalika and Dimna' and 'Barlaam and Josaphat'. Reflecting the light of India, these works were destined to become the pride of Arabic letters as well. We tread on still firmer ground when establishing this influence in the exact sciences..."[295] In the words of Barthold, "neither the Sassanian state nor its official religion, Zoroastrianism, over comprised the entire Iranian world. In the later-period in cultural life of the Iranian world, Buddhist Iran played a part of no less importance than Zoroastrian Iran".[296] Recent archaeological discoveries in Western Turkistan lend a truly prophetic ring to these words.

Keeping to the subject of the present work, we have traced one direction of contacts between Western Turkistan and India—those along Buddhist lines, and have considered certain aspects of the interrelation of Indo-Buddhist and Western Turkistan cultures. We have deliberately omitted the question of the influence exerted by Western Turkistan culture on Indian culture. If Buddhism is to be compared to a bridge between the two cultures, traffic along it was by no means one way. But, of course, the influence exerted by Western Turkistan on India as regards science, material culture, art, ethnic history, the art of warfare, etc., is a vast independent problem which is currently being tackled by Sovit researchers.[297]

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The above gives us grounds for radically reviewing the concept of the role played by Buddhism in the history of Western Turkistan civilsation. In the course of more than 500 years, from the 1st-2nd to the 7th-8th centuries A.D.,

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295. I. Y. Krachkovsky, *Fragment indiyskoi retoriki...*, p. 309. See I. Y. Krachkovsky, *Kalila i Dimna*, *Vvedeniye*, "Izbranniye sochineniya", vol. ii Moscow-Leningrad, 1956, pp. 435-438.
296. W. Barthold, *Der iranische Buddhismus...*, p. 29.
297. See, among other works, articles by A.M. Belenitsky, V. M. Masson, B. Y. Stavisky and the present author in the volume "Indiya v drevnosti", Moscow, 1963. Also see the present author's paper for the 25th International Congress of Orientalists (Moscow, 1967).

Buddhism and the associated elements of secular culture were an important component in the life of Western Turkistan society. Its impact did not come to an end with the Arab conquest and the spread of Islam. Buddhism offers a clue to the origin and essence of many phenomena of medieval ("Muslim") spiritual and material culture. The problem of Western Turkistan Buddhism is actually part of the broader problem of the "Pre-Muslim" cultural heritage of the peoples inhabiting Western Turkistan today.

Diverse elements of Indian science, literature and art reached Western Turkistan along with Buddhist religious ideas. Reinterpreted and modified, they became a component part of the culture of Western Turkistan which, in its turn, shared quite a few of its finest achievements with India. From Western Turkistan that giant transmitter of Buddhism, the Buddha's teaching and with it the ideas and works of Indian and Western Turkistan scholars, artists and craftsmen penetrated further east, enriching the material and spiritual culture of the peoples of Central Asia, China, Korea and Japan. That is why the Western Turkistan phase in the history of Buddhism is a prominent chapter in the history of the culture of the East.

Today it is not yet possible to reveal all the stages and aspects of the history of Buddhism in Western Turkistan. But the knowledge so far accumulated is the result of pain-staking, systematic studies by Soviet researchers over the past forty years. Countless archaeological expeditions have lifted the edge of the curtain covering the highly developed ancient culture of the peoples of Western Turkistan. Researches by historians, archaeologists and linguists have made it possible to produce synthetising works. Credit for discovering and studying the remarkable monuments of Western Turkistan Buddhism goes to Soviet researchers. Their work is an important contribution to the study of history and culture,

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS BY SOVIET SCHOLARS

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE HISTORY, ARCHAEOLOGY AND CULTURE OF CENTRAL ASIA IN THE KUSHAN PERIOD

(Dushanbe 1968)

K. 18/a

L. I. Albaum

STRATIDRAPHY OF KUSHAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE ANGOR DISTRICT OF THE SURKHAN-DARYA REGION

1. The archaeological expedition of the Institute of History and Archaeology of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences has since 1953 engaged in a thorough study of the archaeological monuments in the Surkhan-Darya region.

The largest among them, the town-site of Dalverzin-tepe is situated to the N of Shurchi station. It is about 1 km long. The town emerged in the 3rd century B. C. and continued to exist up to the 7th century A. D. Another settlement, the Karaul-tepe, which may also have been erected in the Kushan period, was excavated in the same district. The diggings revealed sevral poorly preserved copper coins typologically relating to the period between the 1st and 3rd centuries A. D., and also terracotta statuettes.

2. We concentrated attention on studying the stratigraphy of the Hairabad-tepe town-site (150 x 100 m), situated 30 km. to the N of Termez with a citadel in the S-E corner. The diggings at the citadel showed that the main fortifications of the town-site were constructed under the Kushans, even though it emerged in the 3rd century B. C. The Kushan premises can be dated according to the coins of Kadphises I, Kanishka and Huvishka. A coin of Neron's times was also found there. A period of decline and neglect set in at the threshold of the 3rd century A. D.

In the 3rd-4th centuries repair work was made. This period is characterised by discoveries of Vasudeva coins and early Sassanian coins of Hormizd II.

The second half of the 4th century was marked by a new decline of the town-site. In the 5th century the premises were filled with lumps of unburned clay and new premises were built on the strong foundation at the end of the 5th century. Diggings unearthed coins of Ephtalite Central Asian minting, referring to the second half of the 5th or the beginning of the 6th centuries, which were minted in imitation of Peroz's coins.

3. The Zar-tepe town-site (400 x 400 m) situated 4 km to the S of Hairabad-tepe has a citadel in its S-E corner. Two hundred Kushan coins, terracotta statuettes, fragments of gypsum sculptures, bases of columns and other fragments of architectural decor made of marl-limestone were discovered on the surface of the town-site.

4. The mausoleum relating to the Kushan period, situated 16 km to the N of Termez, is of great interest. It is square in shape and is built of square raw brick. The external length of the walls is about 18 m. In the centre there is a round room 4 m in diameter, from which 4 aisles are radiating, each forming a 140 cm passage. A great number of displaced human bones and several skulls exhibiting a marked deformation were discovered on the passage floors, and also some pottery typical of the Kushan times.

A. D. Babaev

PENETRATION OF THE SAKA TRIBES INTO THE WESTERN PAMIR

1. Systematic research of the monuments left behind by the Saka tribes was conducted in the Eastern Pamir between 1946 and 1967. The investigation made under the guidance of A. Bernshtam and B. Litvinsky helped to outline the basic routes travelled by the Sakas, and to solve a number of problems connected with the history and culture of these tribes.

2. In 1962 the West Pamir expedition discovered several burial sites among which the Chilkhon Kurgan in the Ishkashim district, one kilometre to the West of the Zumudg Kishlak was of particular interest. The skeletons were lying on their right side—in a crouched position. A great many objects were found in the graves. The bones were discovered relatively close to the surface ; the shape of the superstructure, the graves, and the position of the skeletons fully coincide with the burials of Eastern Pamir Sakas.

The objects found made it possible to date the Chilkhon burial-site to the 3rd-2nd, perhaps 3rd-1st centuries B. C.

3. The Saka tribes did not appear in the Western Pamir by accident, their movement was a consequence of the situation that shaped on the Pamir in the 2nd century B. C. The Sakas who settled there were obviously unable to continue their habitual nomadic way of life and were forced to settle, forming one of the most ancient layers of the Pamir's indigenous population.

4. Recent linguistic research established that some specifics of the Vakhan language prove its kinship with the Khotanese-Saka language.

Thus, a study of archaeological monuments enables us to fix some stages in the evolution of the Western Pamir culture in ancient times. Its population played an active part in the history of the Eastern part of Central Asia and in the economic and cultural relations of that region.

A. M. Belenitsky

WEST TURKISTAN ART OF THE PRE-ARAB PERIOD AND ITS CONNECTIONS WITH KUSHAN ART

1. The discovery on West Turkistan territory of monumental art, dating back to the 6th-early 8th centuries A. D. diverse both as regards its materials and content, assailed science with many problems, including also the problem of its genesis. Even though this art exhibits elements speaking of a definite influence of the contemporary art of neighbouring countries, it is obviously based on local traditions going back through the ages.

2. There can also be no doubt that the Kushan period is one of the most important stages in the development of West Turkistan art in Pre-Arab times, especially in the Great Central Asian Interfluvial area. Archaeological research in North Afghanistan and the southern Central Asian districts (Airatam, Surkh-kotal, Khalchayan, Kara-tepe) fully confirms that the Kushan period was of decisive importance in the history of Central Asian art.

3. Until recently, researchers analysing the art of Kukhan times emphasised only the elements and features borrowed from the art of other countries, mainly Hellenic and Roman features. It must be said to D. Schlumberger's credit that he was the first to point out the independent significance of Kushan art, the presence in it of local roots. He was also the first to see that in Kushan art there was a secular trend, which he called "dynastic".

4. The specific features of Kushan art were inherited by the local schools that formed in the various regions of the former Kushan Empire, and also in the areas, which had political and cultural links with it, or were dependent on it, for instance, in Eastern Turkistan. Recent studies of the monuments of Buddhist art in Eastern Turkistan (M. Bussagli) and especially the recently published studies of Buddhist monuments in Tumshuk in the Kashgar district, i.e., directly on the border of Ferghana, dating back to the mid-4th-7th centuries A. D. (Hambis, Hallade) convincingly demonstrate that this art is closely linked with the art of such great art centres of the Kushan period as Gandhāra and Mathurā. In the Central Asian Interfluvial area we unfortunately do not have monuments of monumental art of the 4th-5th centuries A. D. (Ephtalite period) reflecting the traditions of the preceding period. This lacuna is to some degree filled in by some toreutic monuments and by depictions on the reverse of certain types of coins showing, in particular, that "secular" subjects did not become extinct in the fine arts.

5. During the time that passed since the decline of the Kushan Empire and the golden age of pre-Arab times substantial changes took place in Central Asia in the style of monumental art, however, the links of that art with Kushan art can be traced in the subjects and themes chosen by local artists. They include

1. Triton and Makara.
2. Pictures showing the bewailing of the dead.
3. Dionysus.
4. Sirens.
5. March of the beasts.
6. Group (family ?) "portraits".
7. Throne resembling animals in shape.
8. Sun chariot.
9. Depictions of games and contests.
10. Other depictions, including such of ritual objects, ornamental motives, etc.

6. The question of the emergence in Kushan art of the above subjects has in every single case a history of its own, which has no relevance to this report.

B. I. Vainberg

ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIAL FROM KHOREZM AND THE PROBLEM OF KUSHAN CHRONOLOGY

1. Archaeological material from Khorezm, notably numismatic material, was widely used to solve the questions of Kushan chronology and of the borders of the Kushan Empire.

2. Judging by available materials, the regular local copper coinage made its appearance in Khorezm only under King Bazamar, whose reign according to the iconography of silver coins and according to the finds of coins of Shapur I (late type) together with the early types of Bazamar's copper coinage, should be related to the last third of the 3rd century A. D.

3. Kushan coins were found in Khorezm in a definite layer only in two sites ; the estate near the fortress of Ayaz-kala and in the Toprak-kala castle. All these coins do not have the S-shaped top coinage typical of many other coins found in Khorezm. In the layer of the estate near Ayaz-kala no Khorezmian coins were found ; in the Toprak-kala castle in addition to copper Kushan (Kanishka, Huvishka, Vasudeva) and Khorezmian coins of three or four rulers (the early type of Vazamar and the rulers following him) were found ; in the Toprak-kala townsite Huvishka and Vasudeva coins were found in indefinite layers.

4. The Toprak-kala castle, to go by stratigraphic, architectural, constructional and other data, did not exist for any length of time. The tower of the castle was added to the as yet unfinished building (the same was found to be the case with the walls of the fortress, where the unfinished wall wsa fundamentally rebuilt). All the premises in the castle have one floor. The dates of the archive documents from the Toprak-kala castle probably reflect the actual life span of the monument, which is 50 years (from 188 to 231 of the "Khorezmian era").

5. The discovery of Vazamar coin in the castle shows that it existed in the last third of the 3rd century A. D. The presence of a series of coinage on Vazamar coins and also the abundance of coins found in the layers of the town-site (during the 1956-1967 excavations) shows that copper coins were being withdrawn from circulation in Khorezm. This fact, as also the discovery in the castle of coins of two or three rulers following Vazamar, give grounds to assume that the Toprak-kala castle existed already in the last third of the 3rd, possibly the beginning of the 4th century A. D. Considering that before Vazamar's rule no copper coins were minted in Khorezm, the building of the Toprak-kala castle should be related to an earlier period, possibly to the mid-3rd century A. D.

6. The finds of dated inscriptions on the ossuaries of the Tok-kala necropolis in the lower reaches of the Amu-Darya served as a basis for the views expressed by some that a Khorezmian era existed for at least eight centuries and that the documents from Toprak-kala, silver cups with Khorezm inscriptions and the ossuary from Tok-kala are dated according to that era. Unfortunately, available data do not enable us to determine the beginning of this era with a sufficient degree of accuracy, and it is therefore impossible also to establish the dates of the Toprak-kala castle's existence. The coins found in Tok-kala give no ground to support the points of view expressed by W. B. Henning and V. Livshits who relate the beginning of the "Khorezmian era" to the year 42 B. C., or to the first third of the 1st century A. D., and also of the view expressed by S. Tolstov, who identifies this era with the "Saka era". The numismatic material from Tok-kala gives grounds to believe that it would be more correct to relate the beginning of the Khorezmian era to the forties or early fifties of the 1st century A. D., but not later than 54 A. D.

7. Although there may be fluctuations as regards the existence of the Toprak-kala castle, it is confined within a relatively limited period ranging from the end of the first half or mid-3rd century to the beginning of the 4th century A.D. Judging from the finds in Toprak-kala, the circulation in Khorezm of the Kushan coins of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva without top-coinage relates to the same period. The finds in the estate near Ayaz-kala seem to indicate that Kushan coins began to circulate in Khorezm at a time preceding the existence of the Toprak-kala castle.

L. S. Vasil'ev

THE KUSHANS AND THE PENETRATION OF BUDDHISM INTO CHINA

1. China and the Kushans. First attempts to establish contacts. Ch'ang Tsien's envoys (mid-2nd century B. C.). Consolidation of the Kushans and the formation of the Kushan Empire. Kanishka and the golden age of the Kushan Empire. "Western region" (Eastern Turkistan) as an intermediary in the interrelations between the Kushans and China. Pen Chao's campaign (1st century A.D.)

2. Kanishka and Buddhism. The 4th Buddhist Council and the emergence of Mahāyāna. Formation of Graeco-Buddhist canons in iconography and the role of the Kushans in their development (on the basis of Hellenistic traditions, the culture of the Central Asian peoples and Indo-Buddhist ideas). The spread of the Buddhism of Mahāyāna and Graeco-Buddhist canons in art and iconography beyond the borders of the Kushan Empire.

3. The role of the city-states of Eastern Turkistan as intermediaries in the spread to China of Buddhism and Buddhist culture, developed in the Kushan Empire. Monasteries and monks in the "Western region" (after Pan Chao's campaign).

4. The first Buddhist preachers in China-people from India, Central Asia (including also from the Kushan Empire) and Eastern Turkistan. The centre of Chinese Buddhism in Tun-huang. The Buddhist centre in Loyang. The spread of Mahāyāna's Buddhism in China. The biggest authorities and patriarchs of early Chinese Buddhism and their links mith the Buddhist centres in Central and Western Asia. Kumarajiva.

5. Gracso-Buddhist canons in art and their influence on China. Buddhist iconography in China. The role of Buddhism on the development of art in China. The emergence of sculptural iconography in China under the impact of Buddhist traditions.

6. The Kushan Empire—a large and most important cultural centre. The links of Kushan culture with Chinese culture and the influence exerted by Central Asian and Indo-Buddhist cultural traditions on the development of Chinese culture. The role of international cultural relations on the advance of civilisation.

V. V. Ginzburg

ANTHROPOLOGICAL DATA TO THE ETHNOGENESIS OF THE CENTRAL-ASIAN INTERFLUVIAL AREA POPULATION IN THE KUSHAN EPOCH

The Central-Asian Interfluvial area population of the first centuries A.D. has so far been inadequately studied anthropologically.

The available data on the settled population bear witness to the already established racial type of the Central-Asian Interfluvial area, the type which shows clear traces of the anthropological features of a still earlier population going back to the Bronze Age. The latter referred in the south of the Interfluvial area to the South-Europeoid (Mediterranean) race, whereas in the north-west to the Eastern branch of the Proto-Europeoid race.

The nomadic population of the Central-Asian Interfluvial area in the first centuries A.D. was characterized by a greater variety of racial types going back both to the earlier local Saka-Massaget and Sarmat tribes and to the tribes of a more easterly origin which had a slight admixute of Mongoloid racial features. Ethnoculturally, these tribes were peculiar in their tradition of burying the dead in tombs of catacomb or cutting (podboi) types. Another distinguishing characteristic of these tribes was their practice of artificial deformation of the head with a view to impart to the skull a more high, elongated shape.

Head deformation is clearly visible on many images of Kushan kings on coins, which is in agreement with the data testifying to their nomadic descent, as the ancient local settled population did not practice on a mass scale .head deformation nor did it have burials of the catacomb-cutting type.

The anthropological materials corroborate the point of view whereby the Kushan Kingdom is regarded as a conglomeration of different peoples headed by the representatives of the Yüeh-chin confederacy of tribes passing on to the settled mode of life.

So far we can only make guesses as to the anthropological type of the Kushans proper, by way of relating the images of kings with deformed heads on coins to the types of the buried in the catacombs and cuttings.

N. G. Gorbunova

FERGHANA IN THE TIME OF THE KUSHAN KINGDOM (THE QUESTION OF ITS BORDERS)

1. The question of the northern border of the Kushan Kingdom has as yet not been settled. Some researchers believe that in the north the Kushan Kingdom was demarcated by the Hissar range, others maintain that at some stage or other Soghd, Chach, Khorezm and Ferghana were part of it.

2. Some data on Ferghana in Kushan times is contained in the Chinese Chronicles. Ferghana (Chinese : Ta-y, Polona, Bohan) is described as an autonomous region that is independent of the Kushan state (Chinese : Ta-Yüeh-chin). The fact that the capital of Ta-yüan was called Gui-shan, encountered in Tsian-han-shu, i.e., before the emergence of the Kushan state, and the later, medieval tradition ascribing a Yüeh-chin origin to the Ferghana ruler, cannot be considered sufficiently convincing testimony to the links between Ferghana and the Kushan Kingdom.

3. Studies were made of settlements and burial sites on Ferghana territory. The lay-out of large town-sites, small settlements, fortresses, castles and unusual cult structures, (tepe 5 in SE Ferghana) resemble Buddhist stupas. Pottery, implement and arrow heads were found There are three types of burial sites :

1—with burials in podbois and catacomb toms with the skeletons facing N, S and E, containing a lot of implements, including weapons ; 2—with burials in primitive burial grounds, the skeletons facing mainly W, with few implements, without weapons ; 3—burials in stone tombs (mug-khona) resembling as regards the implements found, the podboi katacomb tombs.

4. According to the ceramics and the burial rites we can distinguish 4 districts with local features in Ferghana in Kushan times : East (Uzgen oasis), the central part of the valley (from the Kara-su railway station to the Sokh and Gawa-sai Rivers in the West), the South-Western district (from the Sokh River to the Isfana River in the west) and the North-Western district (from the Gawa-sai River to Leninabad in the West).

5. There is greater similarity between the Central and the Western district than there is between the Central and the Eastern. In the preceding period, however, the reverse was observed, namely, a greater resemblance was observed between the Central and Eastern districts and a definite distinction from the Western. This gives reason to assume the influence of Ferghana's Western neighbours on the formation of Ferghana culture in Kushan times (for example,

the wide spread of red pottery techniques, burials in catacomb and "podboi" tombs, etc.). It appears that the migration of the tribes had a definite effect on Ferghana, primarily on its Western districts, which were more accessible for a penetration into the Valley and less developed in former periods.

6. Archaeological material thus testifies to the existence in Ferghana during the first millennium of our era (a more accurate chronological classification is as yet impossible) of a culture which shaped apparently at the turn or in the last centuries B. C. not without the influence from neighbouring Western Central Asian agrarian regions. At the same time Ferghana culture is distinct from the Kushan culture proper as known to us from monuments (the absence of Kushana coins, terracotta figurines, other forms of pottery, etc.).

7. Thus, neither written nor archaeological materials enable us to draw the conclusion that Ferghana was part of the Kushan Kingdom. The links of Ferghana's culture with her Western neighbours speaks of contacts, a common basis of cultural development, due, in particular, to the migration of tribes.

T. V. Grek, N. V. D'yakonova

THE CONCEPTION OF DHARMAKAYA IN THE FINE ARTS (CONTRIBUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MAHAYANA DOGMATICS IN THE KUSHAN EMPIRE)

1. Among the materials of the "First Russian Turkistan Expedition" of S. Oldenburg, preserved at the Hermitage there is a fragment of a wall-painting from cave No. 11 in Shikshin (Museum No. 793 III-199). It represents a nearly life size standing human figure. Its arms and legs are covered with anthropomorphic figures in oval and round cartouches, on the torso there is depicted Mount Meru and a manys-toreyed palace on it. The head and the feet of the figure are destroyed. The background is formed by a mandorla with stylised drawings of waves and water deities.

A. Grunwedel, who published a drawing of the wall-painting, called the personage "Nagaraja in Armour." S. Ol'denburg does not agree with A. Grünwedel and believes it to be an unusual representation of the Buddha, which has its analogies in the paintings of Kuca. A similar image of the Buddha from Oizil has been published by A. Lecoq. Comparing it with the above mentioned Shikshin painting he drew the unexpected conclusion that it was a "Buddha in armour," and at the same time quoted S. Oldenburg's remark categorically denying the possibility of such an iconographic type.

2. Among the painted scrolls at the British Museum which were found in the "Walled-up Chapel" of the monastery of the "Thousand Buddhas" near Tun-huang, there is one representing the Sukhavati's paradise (Ch. XXXVIII, 004). In its lower part there can be seen a sitting Buddha whose clothing is ornamented with analogous figures, with Mount Meru in the centre. R. Petrucci, who published this icon, notes its uniqueness and presumes that the strange figure of the Buddha is here a "personification of Mount Meru," and the only object of figurative art showing Cakyamuni in this aspect. However, besides those mentioned above, there exist other such "unique" images of the Buddha : one probably originating from Balawast, is in the National Museum in New Delhi (Har. D.) and four are to be found among the wall-paintings of Tun-huang (caves 1201, 120y, 135, 136).

3. Thus, these images are neither "strange" nor "unique" ; they were apparently cannonical and fairly widely used. The decisive feature of icons of this type is the presence on the clothes or on the naked body of the Buddha of symbolic figures, corresponding to the Indian ieda of the macrocosmos. Such manifestation

of the Buddha, where his body incorporates all elements of the universe, is probably an expression of the Dharmakaya concept by artistic means.

The doctrine of the three bodies of the Buddha which expresses the ontology of Mahayana was shared by all schools of the Great Vehicle and also by the Sautrantika school, formally belonging to the Hinayana. The Dharmakaya concept had also to find its own expression not only in theological (quasi-philosophical) dogmas but also in more comprehensible visible images. This had not been taken into account when the objects of art in question were classified. Moreover, the incorrect definitions ("Nagaraja", "Buddha in armour", "Personification of Mount Meru") which they received were, apparently, closely linked with the biased notion of the predominance of the Hinayana in Central Asia.

4. Since the commonly accepted date of the objects in question is the 5th-8th centuries A. D., there is reason to believe that Dharmakaya iconography must have had its origin before the middle of the first millennium A. D. Literary sources mentioning analogous symbolic representations of the universe on wall-paintings in India, in the first centuries A. D. (Jataka, VI, 333, Maha-ummaga jataka) also speak in favour of this view.

5. The analysis of icons of the Buddha Dharmakaya helps us to discover in the emerging Mahayana iconography ready iconographic schemes belonging to other religions, especially of Jainism.

Y. A. Zadneprovsky

HISTORY OF CENTRAL ASIAN NOMADS IN THE KUSHAN PERIOD

1. The 2nd century B. C. is a period in Central Asian history marked by an extensive movement of nomadic tribes, which had a major impact on the historic fate of the adjacent countries, and notably on the formation of the Kushan Empire.

At least three basic groups of nomads participated in these events : 1) tribes of Central Asian origin—the Yüeh-chin and Wu-suns, 2) local tribes, such as the Sakas, Kangkiu and others, 3) nomads of a N-W origin, related to the Sarmats (from the region between the Aral and the Caspia).

2. We now have some archaeological data enabling us to concretise our ideas about these groups. There is no doubt that Tulkhar and other adjacent kurgans are linked with the nomads, who invaded Northern Bactria in the second century B. C. The areal of the monuments of the Tulkhar groups should be broadened by including into it the synchronous kurgans of the Bukhara oasis, which are similar to it as regards the structure of the tombs, the rites and implements. It is extremely likely that the monuments of Southern Ferghana and Alay, such as the Karabulak also belong to it, although the possibility is not excluded that they constitute a local variant. The Tulkhar groups of monuments of the nomads, if we are to believe Chinese sources, can be compared with the Yüeh-chih monuments.

3. Kurgans have been investigated in Semirechye and on the Tien Shan, which according to the tomb structures and some rites resemble the Tulkhar group. As regards their orientation and implements they differ from the Tulkhar monuments (though they are synchronous to what extent it is as yet difficult to say). The podboi tombs in Semirechye and on the Tien Shan are not self-contained burial grounds and are encountered only among the burials in the Chilpek groups. The latter are directly linked with the monuments of the preceding Saka period and apparently belong to the local Saka population, which was part of the Wu-Sun Union. As distinct from this group the podboi tombs in Semirechye have no local roots and were probably left by an alien population (the Yüeh-chih or Wu-suns). If we are to assume that according to the ethnic definition the Tulkhar group belongs to the Yüeh-chih, we can also assume that the similar kurgans in Semirechye are of the Yüeh-chih type, and that the distribution of tombs of the podboi kind in Soviet Central Asia reflects the main stages of the movement of the Yüeh-chih tribes, evidence of which is contained in source materials.

4. The catacomb type tombs of the Kenkol group are concentrated in the Tashkent oasis, Talas and Ketmen-tube. There are close links between them and the settlements of Kaunchin culture. The emergence of similar monuments in Western Ferghana, in the Zeravshan valley and in the Bukhara oasis should be regarded as a result of their spread to the South.

5. The scarcity of materials enables us to pose the question of the links between the Sarmats of the North Transcaspia and the monuments of the Lyavandak group with catacomb tombs (differing from the Kenkol group) only in the most general aspect.

6. During the migration and struggle with Graeco-Bactria and the probable inter-tribal warfare there proceeded a displacement and an integration of nomads of different origin, which ended in the victory of the tribe that advanced the Kushan dynasty.

7. Some elements found in Indian culture of the Kushan period exhibit a Central Asian origin and probably appeared there together with the nomads.

V. Y. Zezenkova

SOME CRANIOLOGICAL MATERIALS OF THE KUSHAN TIMES IN CENTRAL ASIA

1. The Kushan Empire was inhabited by numerous peoples undergoing an independent ethno-genetic development. The anthropological types of the modern population of those areas were then in the stage of formation.

Craniological materials of the Kushan period, even though they are scarce, make it possible with a high degree of probability to relegate the basic population to the great Europoid race.

In the craniological material of Kushan times we distinguish the following anthropological types : variants of the Mediterranean type, skulls similar to the type of the Central Asian Interfluvial area (pamiroferghanic) with transitory form between these types and an admixture of the Armenoid, Andronovo type and equatorial features. There is only a very slight admixture of the Mongoloid element.

The Mediterranean type reflects the ancient basis. This ancient autohtonic type was in contact with the bordering anthropological types throughout historical development, assimilated and absorbed them gradually into its composition, through gradual infiltration or gradual stratification of diverse intensity : the proto-European components, Andronovo, Western Asian in their Armenoid or Balcano-Caucasian variants, equatorial, Mongoloid in its diverse variants, etc. Hence the ancient Mediterranean type was the basis on which in the process of complex and long intricate development there shaped the type of the Interfluvial area and the Modern Mediterranean types, which is characteristic for the peoples of Turkmenia, where the dolihocephalic component is dominant (in the peoples of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan the brachycephalic element prevails).

2. A typical feature of the Kushan stage of the formation of anthropological types is the preservation of the ancient Mediterranean type and the emergence of a large number of brachycranial types, mainly of Europeoid elements. A particular increase in brachycrany can be observed on the territory of Tajikistan and on the territory of the Parthian Empire, which was adjacent to the Kushans.

A fact of major interest is the presence of an annular artificial deformation (macrocephalia). The extensive spread of this type of deformation in time and areal (beginning from the Bronze Age), its presence on the skulls of diverse anthropological types, gives good grounds not to consider this deformation as an ethnic characteristic.

Generally the deformation is observed on separate skulls or groups of skulls, hence, only a definite part of the population or individuals had deformed skulls. It is likely that one of the reasons for this deformation was the striving to show the power of the conqueror, to stand out in some way, or else it was a symbol of the ruler, of his nobility and greatness. Another reason possibly responsible for this deformation may have been the desire of the local population or of some other group to acquire similar or distinct anthropological features.

In the Kushan period macrocephalia is found in Khorezm, in the Tashkent, Namangan and Surhan-Darya regions.

The pronounced deformation of one skull in the Surhan-Darya region, which was found together with Kushan archaeological materials, resembles in form the coneshaped (tower-formed) deformation of the heads of Ephtalite rulers, depicted on coins, especially of the head of Toraman. On Kushan coins this deformation is implied on the images of Kadphises II and Heraios, who is considered the direct predecessor of Kadphises I.

3. The craniological material and the depictions of the rulers on Kushan coins testify to the Europeoid type of the Kushans. As regards their anthropological type the Kushans were closely related to the Ephtalites. This can be seen from the depictions of the Ephtalite rulers on coins and craniological material from the Kushka-Darya region, possibly linked with the Ephtalites.

The type of deformation of these skulls repeats the deformation of Mihirakula's head, as depicted on coins. The anthropological types of the skulls and of the depictions on the coins are very similar. The race type of the depictions of the Ephtalite rulers and of the skulls found in the Kashka-Darya region is Europeoid and relates to a variant of the Mediterranean race, with an admixture in some skulls of equatorial components, indicating probable links with India.

A comparison of the depiction on Kushan coins with Ephtalite coins, and also a comparison of relevant craniological materials give every reason to consider the Yüeh-chih tribes, which were part of the Kushan and Ephtalite domains, Europeoid and closely interrelated as regards anthropological characteristics.

E. V. Zevmal

278 A. D.—THE DATE OF KANISHKA

1. The initial date of Kanishka's era (DK)—278 A. D., as suggested by D. Bhandarkar in 1899, is obtained if the beginning of the "unknown era" is taken as 78 A. D. (i.e., if it is equated with the Saka era), and if the "Kanishka era" is regarded as the 3rd century of that "unknown era." D. Bhandarkar's hypothesis did not gain wide recognition[1] but the arguments advanced against it depend directly or indirectly on earlier variants of absolute dates for the Kushan period.

2. Materials, which were unknown seventy years ago, confirm this hypothesis (or in any case do not contradict it) in the part that relates to absolute Kushan dates. It should be recognised that many of D. Bhandarkar's propositions, which are attending the hypothesis but are not directly linked with the Kanishka date are outmoded[2] (the sequence of the Indo-Saka and Indo-Parthian rulers of the pre-Kushan period ; the assumption that Vonon was the founder of the "unknown"—Saka era, and a number of others).

3. New epigraphic data now enable us to concretise the chronology of the Kushan kings suggested by D. Bhandarkar, without changing the basic propositions of the hypothesis identifying the "unknown era" with the Saka era. and the "Kanishka era" with the 3rd century of the "unknown era".

CHRONOLOGY OF THE "KANISHKA DYNASTY"

According to D. Bhandarkar		*with corrections*	
"Kanishka era" dates in the inscriptions	A.D. era dates	"Kanishka era" dates in the inscription	A.D. era dates

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1. One of the main elements of this hypothesis—the identification of the "Kanishka era" with the third century of the "unknown era"—was accepted and used by R. M. Ghirshman to substantiate IDK—144 A.D., J. van Lohuizen de Leeuw fixes that date at 78 A.D.
2. Let us mention that many arguments used by D. Ferguson and G. Oldenberg, who assumed DK—78 A.D. are outmoded, as well.

(*in brackets—dates according to the*
"unknown"=Saka era)

KANISHKA	(20) 5-(2)28	286-306	(20)1?(2)23	278-301
VASISHKA	(was unknown)		(2)24-(2)28	302-306
HUVISHKA	(2)29-(2)60	307-338	(2)28-(2)60	-306-338
KANISHKA II	(was unknown)		(2)41	319
VASUDEVA	(2)74-(2)98	352-376	(2)64-(2)98	342-376

Of the 2nd century inscriptions of the "unknown era" mentioning the Kushan kings, D. Bhandarkar knew only the inscription of the year 123 from Panjtar ; between Kujula Kadphises and Kanishka he placed besides Vima Kadphises also two another Kushan kings (Kujula-Kara-Kadphises and the Nameless king—"Soter Megas"), the existence of which as independent rulers is doubtful. The cronology of Kanishka's predecessors can now be assumed to look as follows ; Kujula Kadphises—about 100-160 of the "unknown era"=about 178-238 A.D. ; Vima Kadphises—about 160-200 of the "unknown era"=about 238-278 A.D.

4. As there are no direct synchronisms which could help to solve the problem of the Kushan chronology, DK=278 A.D. should be checked by the dates of the periods preceding and following the Kushan Kingdom i.e. from the last quarter of the 2nd century B.C. to 376 A.D.

The dated events after the downfall of the Kushan Kingdom are connected with two chronological columns—Sassanian Iran and the State of the Guptas. The initial date of the issuing of Kushano-Sassanian coins—the most reliable evidence of the conquest of the Kushan Kingdom by the Sassanians and it does not contradict IDK=278.[3]

The only direct proof of the Gupta conquest of the territories which part of the Kushan Kingdom are inscriptions dated by the Gupta era (the initial Candragupta date is 320 A.D.). Both the earliest of them (the Candragupta II Mathura inscription—the year 61 of the Gupta era=380/381 A.D,) and later ones the inscription of Candragupta II from Udayagiri—the year of the Gupta era= 401/402 A.D. and from Sānchi—the year 93 of the Gupta era=412/413 A.D.) are in good agreement with DK=278 A.D. The Allahabad inscription which was apparently also composed under Chandrapupta II—is a posthumous panegyric to King Samudragupta and gives a detailed account of his deeds (about 350 A.D. ?), mentions among other peoples and rulers bordering on the domains of

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[3] See the theses of the V. G. Lukonin's report at this Conference.

Samudragupta, the title of the Kushan king[4] (Daivaputra-Shāhi-Shāhānushāhi in the 23rd line).

5. The dates of the pre-Kushan period events unfortunately cannot serve as argument in favour or against any version of the DK, since they depend directly on absolute Kushan dates. In particular, the hypothesis DK=278 presumes new dates for the pre-Kushan period, reflected by the inscriptions of the "unknown" (=Śaka) era.

	Dates according to the inscriptions	Dates A.D.
reign of mahakṣatrapa Rājūla (Mathurā)	before 72	before 150
reign of Śhodasa Rājala's son (Mathurā)	about 72	about 150
reign of kshatrapa Liska Kusūlaka (Taksil')	about 78	about 156
reign of mahārāja Guduphara (=Gondofares)	from 77 to 103	155-181
	(?)	(?)

6. The existence on the territory of the Kushan Kingdom (throughout the whole period of its existence, including also the 3rd-4th centuries) of petty sovereigns (and even small dynasties) cannot be considered as evidence against DK=278 since these rulers might have depended on the central power of the Kushan kings—could vary in different forms and to different degrees. Thus, for example, Kṣatrapa of Vima Kadphise's Leionises-Jihouika (about 191 of the "Unknown era"= about 269 A. D.) issued his own silver and copper coins.

It seems the question whether the so-called Western Kṣatrapas were vassals of the Kushan kings cannot be answered at present. The absolute chronology of these rulers, based on the Saka era has been firmly established but it does not give any synchronisms with the history of the Kushan Kingdom. If DK=278 A. D. were accepted one would be able to explain the pause in the using by the Western Ksatrapas of the title Mahāksatrapa between 196 and 211 of the Saka-era (274-289 A. D.) and between 218 and 270 of the Saka era (296-348 A. D.), since it would coincide with the period of the greatest power of the Kushan Kingdom (taking DK=278). But such a conclusion can naturally be only a deduction rather than proof of the hypothesis.

7. DK=278 offers not only a new (and in my opinion a fully satisfactory) solution of many problems of the Kushan epoch, but presumes also a general revision of the historical picture on the territory of the Kushan Kingdom from the 1st century A. D. to the 4th century A. D. There are quite a lot of view points, once accepted as assumptions, which are now traditional and used along with facts. It is very difficult and painful for science, and particularly scientists, to discard them. That is why the modified version of D. R. Bhandarkar's hypothesis should

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[4] The proposed variants of an indirect interpretation of this title cannot be taken into account, as they directly depend on earlier dates of Kushan history than DK—278 A.D.

apparently first stand the test "for elimination". This seems to be the most reasonable solution of the problem (especially, if DK=278 A. D. in reality is not that only correct point of view, which scholars have for so long failed to discover). Naturally, only when DK=278 A. D. is proved to be erroneous by objective data, by facts, and not by other hypotheses relating to the problem of Kushan absolute chronology, can it be discarded.

A. N. Zelinsky

THE KUSHANS AND MAHĀYĀNA

1. In the beginning of our era a Mahāyāna system of Buddhism emerged in the north of India within the empire of the Great Kushans, one that differed wholly from the former Hinayāna and laid the foundation of Buddhism as a world religion. This process, so important as regards historical consequences, has been insufficiently studied, and this makes it necessary to define more concretely the phenomena in the theory and practice of Buddhism characterising the new trend and role the Kushans themselves played in the creation of this Mahāyāna doctrine.

2. A historical analysis of available data warrants the conclusion that the fundamental change in Buddhist practice under the Kushans found its expression in the fact that lay people were drawn into the Buddhist community, and that, as a result, this formerly narrow monastic order transformed into a broad church organisation that actively intervened in mundane affairs. Correspondingly, salvation, in the Buddhist sense of the word, was put within the reach of the mass of ordinary believers. In close connection with this is the Bhodhisattva cult that emerged in Buddhism under the Kushans. The ideal of the Arhat seeking his own salvation was replaced by the ideal of Bodhisattva, who sacrificed his salvation for the salvation of others. The conversion of laymen to Buddhism meant a conversion also of warriors, which inevitably led to a revision of the former Buddhist principle of non-resistance to evil by violence. In this connection no perplexity is caused by the conversion to Buddhism of Kanishka, the famous Kushan ruler and conqueror, under whom Mahāyāna became one of the pillars of the Kushan dynasty (contrary to the case of Aśoka).

3. The principal change in the theoretical foundation of Buddhism in the Kushan epoch consisted in the entirely new conception of Nirvāṇa, which holds the central place in the Buddhist teaching on salvation. If in the early Hinayāna Buddhism of the 5th-1st century B.C., Nirvāṇa meant a suppression of all vital processes (*nirodha*), a complete destruction of the personality in what can conditionally be called "absolute emptiness". In the later, Mahāyāna Buddhism the concept of Nirvāṇa merged with the concept of the Buddha as the "absolute completeness" of being (*Dharma-kāya*) and the source of "great compassion" (*Mahākāruna*) and love for people. Once a "Teacher", the founder of Buddhism became a 'Savior', and was thus endowed with a new, superhuman, godlike aspect. The new theory declared the infinite turnover of the elements of being (*dharma*), including the world

of human passions and sufferings (*saṃsāra*), illusory and void (*sūnyatā*) and was not considered an antithesis to Nirvāṇa, as was the case in the Hinayāna teaching. On the contrary, faith in the supernatural power and knowledge of Buddha, destroyed the very illusion of manifestation of the world, and also the difference between samsāra and nirvāṇa, according to the formula : *samsāra-śūnyatā-nirvāṇa-dharma-kāya* (according to Th. Stcherbatsky). Thus, the change in the philosophical view, expressed in the recognition of the illusoriness of the world, went hand in hand with emergence of a theological conception that was entirely alien to former Buddhism and differed radically from all other religious philosophical systems in India (for example, in the dogma on *Trikāya*).

4. Comparing the conclusions on the change in Buddhist practice under the Kushans with the changes in its theory and taking into account the role of the Kushan rulers, who supported the new trend in Buddhism politically, (Kanishka's council ab. 100 A.D.) we should conclude that we have to face not a mere coincidence of heterogenous factors, but with a complex and mutually conditioned process in which the Kushans played a decisive role in creating optimal conditions for the development and spread of Mahāyāna, which already in the Kushan epoch (1st to 4th centuries A. D.) embraced vast cultural regions in Central, Western and Eastern Asia. From the moral and ascetic teaching Buddhism in the form of Mahāyāna becomes under the Kushans a world religion comparable only with Christianity, which spread simultaneously in the Western part of the world.

S. K. Kabanov

LATE KUSHAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE LOWER REACHES OF THE KASHKA-DARYA RIVER

1. Ancient Nakhsheb (now the Karshin Oasis) was situated at the junction of two historico-cultural regions—Soghd and Tokharistan. Nomadic tribes settled to a sedentary life in this oasis in the midst of a veritable ocean of steppes and later this was to have a telling effect on the material culture and its syncretism.

2. Archaeological materials show that the 3rd-4th centuries of Nakhsheb's history were marked by serious changes in the socio-economic structure. In addition to large settlements of the Kala-i-Zakhaki-Moron type (with a castle in the centre) and of the Mudin-tepe type (with a castle in one of the corners) which existed there already in the first century A. D., aristocrats built many-roomed castles with a system of processional corridors and fortified entrance towers (Pirmat-tepe). Unfortified buildings of stylobates and small houses practically without stylobates were built in the vicinity of the castles.

3. The lands of the group of these newly-built settlements were irrigated by individual irrigation ditches (for example, the Pirmat-tepe with a group of settlements on the Buri-aryk). This type of settlement of the farmers shows that there were independent producers who ran their farms individually but were dependent on the ruler of the neighbouring castle. Thus, archaeological materials show that of the 3rd-4th centuries feudal society was in the making in Nakhsheb.

4. Nakhsheb's material culture of the 3rd-4th centuries, represented in the main by various pottery, differs from the material culture of Soghd. The mechanically produced pottery of the 4th-5th centuries (Er-Kurgan) have certain features linking it with the pottery of Tokharistan (Termez, Airtam). The pottery made by moulding has certain specific features (thorn-shaped moulded ornaments, zoomorphic images) which speak of traditions linked with the culture of the nomad cattle-breeders, who mixed with the agrarian population of Soghd, and were in the course of centuries assimilated by them.

5. Historical sources enable us to establish the ethnic origin of the bearers of these traditions. In the second half of the 2nd century B. C. the Great Yüeh-chih tribes settled in the oases near the northern banks of the Amu-Darya, north of Takhya (Bactria-Tokharistan). The aristocracy of these tribes, who were formerly nomads, later founded the Kushan Empire with the capital first some place to the north of Amu-Darya, and later in India. Ancient Nakhsheb is one of the zones where the Great Yüeh-chih first settled. The influence of the nomad culture

of the Great Yüeh-chih on the culture of the Soghd farming population determined the syncretism of the latter, which can be seen from the moulded ceramics of the 3rd-4th century A. D.

6. The stability of the traditions of the ancient Yüeh-chih in Nakhsheb is explained by the relative weakness of the exchange relations in this borderland of the Kushan Empire as compared with its Southern provinces. Besides, the natural conditions in the steppes favoured the continuation of stock-breeding by the newly settled Yüeh-chih, which helped them preserve their habitual way of life and the implements connected with it.

7. According to the Chinese chronicle Pei-shi people of the Great Yüeh-chih tribe, known as Kidarites, from the name of their ruler Kidary (Tsidolo), settled in Nakhsheb in the 5th century. Comparing historical and archaeological material we are able to establish that the capital of the Kidarites was a town, the ruins of which are the town-site of Er-Kurgan. The settling of the Great Yüeh-chih in areas inhabited by the agricultural population continued also in the 5th century, which can be seen from the moulded ceramics distinguished by a profusion of zoomorphic depictions found in the upper layers of the Short-tepe town-site.

8. In the last third of the 5th century the power in Nakhsheb passed on to the Ephtalites. In the ruins of a building of the 3rd-4th centuries Ephtalite group burials were unearthed.

Note : The theses were drawn up on the basis of materials unearthed in the Karshin Oasis in 1946-1948 and 1952-1954, a report which has already been published and also on the basis of as yet unpublished materials furnished by diggings in 1965-1967, which were made by the author under the auspices of the Institute of History and Archaeology of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences.

T. P. Kivatkina

CRANIOLOGICAL MATERIAL OF THE 2ND-1ST CENTURIES B.C. FROM THE TERRITORY OF SOUTHERN TAJIKISTAN

1. The southern regions of Soviet Tajikistan, in ancient times Northern Bactria, are a territory which in the last centuries B. C. was the scene of events connected with the fall of the Graeco-Bactrian Empire and the creation of the nucleus of the Kushan Empire. Information of this period is extremely scarce, written source materials give only an enumeration of the nomad tribes that invaded the territory of the Graeco-Bactrian Empire. For this reason all materials able to expand our knowledge in this field are of great scientific value.

2. In this respect great value is attached to craniological materials obtained from the burial sites on the right-bank of the Amu-Darya River. They include material from the Tulkhar burial site, left by the nomad population and relate to the last third of the 2nd-beginning of the 1st century B. C. (Mandelstam, 1966). The burial site consists of isolated groups of kurgans, haphazardly arranged. Excavated were kurgans with rubble mounds in which "podboi" (cutting) tombs (the bulk) were found or else burials in a grave with "a stone box". The skeletons are lying stretched out on their backs, the head pointing to the North, the arms stretched along the body (there are also other variants). All of them are solitary graves.

3. The series consists of 37 male, 39 female and 6 children's skulls. According to the configuration of the cranium we distinguish three groups of skulls : 1) undeformed, 2) with a flattened-out occiput, 3) with traces of an artificial forehead-occiput deformation. The dominant anthropological type in the series is the mesocranial type (the index is at the top limit of mesocrany), with average absolute sizes of the cranium, with a medium broad and medium inclined forehead and a glabella, of more than average development. The face part is wide and of average height, mesoprosopic according to the index, orthognathous, with a sharply protruding nose, high bridge of the nose and low orbits. This complex of indices is characteristic of diverse tribes-bearers of the Andronovo culture.

4. The series contains two variants—the one with a taller face, which may be linked with Mediterranean forms (in the broad sense of the word) and one with a lower face, having analogues on territories located further to the North than Tajikistan.

5. There is apparently a connection between the position of the skeleton, on the one hand, and the presence of the artificial forehead-occiput deformation, on the other. This can be found only on female skulls of the first group.

6. The type of burial may have some connection with burials of families or blood relatives.

7. The fact that material is scarce and chosen at random does not enable us to draw definite conclusions, but the analysis of the available data makes it possible to affirm that the nomad tribes that invaded the territory of Northern Bactria belonged to different anthropological types.

I. Kozhamberdiev

CULTURE OF THE TIENSHAN-ALAI NOMADS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE FIRST MILLENNIUM A. D.

(*According to materials of the catacomb tombs*)

1. The Tienshan-Alai massif in Central Asia was in ancient times an area ruled undividedly by nomad peoples. Among them proceeded an endless process of blending and assimilation. The culture of these tribes grew and developed in close interaction with their neighbours in the East-Western Asian peoples, and in the west—the Central Asian peoples.

2. Archaeological studies over the vast spaces of the Tienshan-Alai have provided abundant and unique materials telling of the high, original culture of the ancient nomads. To judge from the archaeological material the tribes that left the catacomb tombs were quite numerous and had stable paleoethnographic features as regards their burial structures and the details of their burial rites.

3. The region most thoroughly studied is the Ketmentube valley, where mainly large burial-sites are concentrated (in some burial sites there are up to 1,000 kurgans).

4. As a result of archaeological research (about 400 tombs, have been excavated) over many years an enormous number of ancient objects have been unearthed. These are implements of labour and objects of wood, clay and metals, remains of fabrics, all sorts of gold ornaments with incrustations (ear-rings, rings, plaques, medallions, etc.), and weapons (armour, fragments of a shield, sword, broad-swords, spears, bone ornaments for bows and numerous arrow heads of different shapes).

5. An analysis of the materials unearthed in the Tienshan-Alai massif shows that the polychromic style with characteristic local forms prevailed in the jeweller's art of the ancient nomads. The high quality of the weapons shows that military organisation was well developed.

6. Extensive comparative material shows that the ancient population of the Tienshan-Alai massif was not isolated from the ambient world but had constant close ties with the population of Western Asia, Western Turkistan and the Northern Black Sea Coast.

V. G. Lukonin

SASSANIAN CONQUESTS IN THE EAST OF IRAN AND THE PROBLEM OF KUSHAN CHRONOLOGY

1. The same Sassanian sources and Kushano-Sassanian coins are often used to substantiate different initial dates for the 'Kanishka era'. First direct mention of the Kushaṇ Empire in connection with Sassanian activities in the East of Iran is contained in: a) the inscription of Shapur I on the 'Kasba of Zoroaster' (ŚKZ, the date of the inscription is 262; 'Kuśansahr until Peshavar (?)' mentions among the countries ruled by Shapur 1) and b) the inscription Narse in Paikuli (NPK, the date—293; the list of independent and semi-dependent kings and the nobles, who supported Narse in his claims to the throne mentions the 'King of the Kushans'—kwś'n MLK, but the context in this place of the inscription is unclear).

2. Other data linked with Sassanian-Kushan relations, which are generally used in connection with the problem of Kushan chronology, relate to much later times. Tabari's report that the court of Artashir I was visited by the King of the Kushans together with the Kings of Turan and Mekran to 'express their submission', and also the description by Tabari of the campaigns of Artashir I to the East, after comparison with more reliable sources may be considered to lack in authenticty. Some researchers identify the Kushan King Vāsudeva with Vehsajan mentioned in Moses Kḫorenatzi's 'History of Armenia'. However, the sources speak of a semilegendary personage supposed to have ruled somewhere in Eastern Iran during the time of the last Parthian king. This personage, according to Moses Khorenatzi, was representative of the famous Karen family, a relative of the Parthian and Armenian kings, the ancestor of the noble Armenian Kamsarakan family and the uncle of Grigory the Enlightener. All other sources (Latin, Syrian, Arab, Armenian) mention the Kushans only in connection with the events in Iran in the 4th-5th centuries. In the incription of Judge Selok in Persepolis (Pers. II, 327) is mentioned not Kabul, but Kavār—a town in the Shiras district.

3. The only direct evidence of the conquest by the Sassanians of the territory of the Kushan Empire are Kushano-Sassanian coins. The sequence of their issue was established by A. Bivar and concretised hy other scholars. R. Gobl relates the issue of these coins to the reign in Iran of Shapur II

(309-379). The beginning of the minting of the Kushan-Sassanian series can be more accurately determined as the end of the seventies of the 4th century—of the golden cup-shaped coins with legends in Bactarian writing. Typologically, the Scythian Kushan-Sassanian coins are closely related with Vāsudeva's issues.

4. Thus, there exists a contradiction between ŚKZ and numismatic data. According to ŚKZ the Kushan Empire was conquered before 262 ; the coins indicate that the Kushan Empire fell in the sixties-seventies of the 4th century. This contradiction can be solved by comparing all contemporary sources on the Sassanian policy both in the West and also in the East of Iran (with a view to elucidating the possible dates of the Eastern campaigns of the Sassanian Kings), by studying the development of the institution of the "royal dastakerta" and the history of the titles of Sassanian princes—the vice-regents of the various provinces, and by other indirect evidence. In particular, the history of the titles "King of Sakastan, Turestan and Ind up to the coast of the sea (Sassanian inscription ŚKZ, NPK ; the inscription of the Saka King Shapur in Persepolis of the year 311, the inscription of Judge Selok in Persepolis of the year 327) and "King of Kushans", "Great King of Kushans", "Great King of Kings of the Kushans" (on Kushano-Sassanian coins) show that the vice-regency of "Sakastan, Turestan and Ind to the seashore" was established after the Eastern campaigns of Shapur I (between 245 and 248) and existed right up to the second half of the 4th century. The lands that were incorporated in this vice-regency demarcated at that time the Sassanian possessions of Iran's Eastern border, irrespective of whether Shapur's soldiers reached Peshavar (?) or not. The information in ŚKZ may be interpreted as a *claim* of Shapur I, founded on the seizure of the territories which had formerly depended on the Kushan King (or even belonged to him). Similar claims—pointing to an incomplete conquest—can be established with greater authenticity as relating to some other "countries" to the West of Iran, which are also mentioned in the ŚKZ and also in the inscriptions of Magupat Kartir (about 280, for instance Greece). There is no direct evidence that the title "King of Kushans" (and other more widespread variants of this title) were used under Shapur I.

5. Only the Kushano-Sassanian coins (of all the materials we possess) can be considered evidence of a complete victory of the Sassanians over the Kushan Kingdom. Naturally as we may more dependably determine the date of the Kushano-Sassanian coin series than the date of ŚKZ, the date after which the Kushan Empire no longer existed. Such a dating of the collapse of the Kushan Empire (the 70's of the 4th century) does not contradict the latest variants of Kushan chronology (the hypothesis of D. Bhandarkar—E. Zeymal), according to which the beginning of Kanishka's rule is presumed to be 278 A. D., while the latest inscription of Vāsudeva would relate to 376 A. D. (278 A. D. + 98 of the "Kanishka era").

A. M. Mandelshtam

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA ON THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE KUSHANS

1. The origin of the nomad tribes which destroyed the Graeco-Bactrian Empire, and the history of their consolidation, culminating in the formation of the Kushan Empire, is a question that has received so far little attention. The difficulties its solution encounters are due to the great scarcity of the sources, while the available ones are only fragmentary, and more often contradictory. Usual in this respect is the fact that the names of the tribes given in Western and Eastern sources do not correspond, and the proposed identification is therefore no more than a hypothesis.

2. A logical way for compensating for the lack of factual data is the information furnished by archaeological research, notably the systematic study of the nomad burials on the territory of the Kushan Empire. First steps in this direction have until now been taken only in Northern Bactria, where four large burial sites were excavated in Tulkhar, Aruktaus and Kok-kum in the Bishkent valley (S. Tajikistan), the Babashov site on the right bank of the Amu-Darya River (E. Turkmenistan). Over 500 kurgans have heen investigated.

3. The Tulkhar burial site is the most important monument. The burials unearthed here were almost exclusively simple graves under a relatively thin layer of rubble and earth. All skeletons are lying on their back, stretched out, the head pointing S, SW and SE. Pottery (cups, jugs made on the potter's wheel, etc.), weapons (daggers, swords, arrow heads), various objects of clothing and implements (buckles, knives, mirrors, etc.) and also ornaments were found there. According to the coins found in it (obolas, imitating the minting of Eucratides) and the types of ceramics the date of the monument may be established as the last third of the 2nd century B. C.—the beginning of the 1st century A. D.

Similar materials were found in the two burial sites of the Bishkent group, relating to the same period.

4. The Babashov burial site differs as regards the upper structure (it has a fence and not a mound), and pits rather than "podbois" predominate. Here too most skeletons were lying in a stretched out position on their backs, the head pointing to the S, SW and SE. The objects found resemble those in the Bishkent

group burial sites, but include also other types of vessels, weapons, etc. There being no coins, the monument was dated less accurately as relating to the period between the end of the 2nd century B. C. and the 2nd-3rd century A. D.

5. The dating of the investigated monuments (which is substantiated by the results of recent excavations of town-sites) enables us to state with certainty that they belonged to the nomads, who in the last third of the 2nd century B. C. destroyed the Graeco-Bactrian Empire. Archaeology reveals four groups of nomads, which probably relate to four different tribes. The culture of all of them exhibits traits resembling the culture of the Sarmat tribes, but this is mainly a "temporal" resemblance, which is observed over a vast area. A more concrete comparison points to links with areas to the N and NE of Central Asia. The invasion of the nomads, which took place in the 2nd century B. C. was apparently linked with a considerable migration of tribes in the steppe zone.

6. Archaeological material shows that after the fall of the Graeco-Bactrian Empire large groups of nomads firmly settled on Bactrian territory. Similar phenomena can be observed in Central Asia further to the North (the borderlands of Soghd, etc.). Apparently the invasion did not lead to the decline of the conquered agricultural region : indicative of this is the fact that all large burial sites are far from oases, while small kurgan groups are always on lands unsuitable for agriculture, situated outside but near the oases. The newcomers apparently used their dominant position to obtain products produced by the indigenous population but did not destroy the basis of their productive activity. This may be one of the reasons responsible for the rapid upsurge of the Kushan Empire and its successful expansion.

7. At the present stage of research it is important to solve the question of attributing the known monuments to the various tribes mentioned in sources. There are some pre-requisites for the solution of this question, but to be able to do this it is essential to carry out more purposive archaeological excavations in other parts of the Kushan Empire—in Afghanistan, India and Pakistan. Available information make it more than likely that nomad burial sites will be found there. Such excavations may furnish important results which help to concretise our views on the relations of the various ethnic elements in the Kushan Empire.

M. E. Masson

TOWARD THE PROBLEM OF THE NORTHERN BORDERS OF THE STATE OF THE "GREAT KUSHANS"

1. The reason for the present controversy among scholars as to the northern borders of the state of the "Great Kushans" should be sought in the dearth of relevant written sources which would provide direct clear-cut data on the issue, and scientific literature dominated by more or less exaggerated conjectures as to the size of the Kushan domain in Central Asia.

2. Fergana is included into the Kukhan state mainly on the assumption that part of the Yüeh-chih, while moving from the northern Pre-ien Shan area through this territory was likely to have settled there, which might have been instrumental in the subsequent incorporation of the Fergana valley into the domain of the "Great Rushans".

3. The alleged conquest of Soghd and Chachstan by the Kushans is inferred chiefly from the erroneous interpretation of part of the inscription of Shapur I on Kasba Soroaster, which far from pointing to these regions as organic to the Kushan state ("Kushansakr"), only mentions them among some other regions west and east of Iran as just remote corners of the domain of this Sassanid sovereign.

4. True, there is a certain phonetic similarity between the name "Kushan" on the one hand and the names of the Fergana town of Kasan, Kashyadaryul Kiss or Kesh and the early-medieval town in the Zeravshan valley (apparently somewhere around Katta-Kurgan) called Kushani, as well as the name of a group of foreign merchants that lived in Bukhara in the early VIII century—"Kash kashan" on the other. The latter name has survived in several graphic forms. Yet, for all the phonetic closeness, this similarity cannot be treated as indisputable and is nothing else but a questionable hypothesis which is still to be backed up by weighty proof.

5. The arguments in favour of the Kushan reign in Khorezm from the middle of the I century A.D. until the late II century are: first, the allegedly Gandhāra style of the monumental sculpture of Toprak-kala; secondly, the alleged presence of Buddhist motifs in some Khorezmian terracotta figurines; thirdiy, some small archaeological finds made in Khorezm purportedly associated with the Buddhist cult; and finally, some 70 specimens of Kushan coins related to Kadphises II, Kanishka, Huvishka and mainly to Vāsudeva, all of which were found on the territory of right-bank Khorezm. Yet, even if the disputable objects

are accepted as related to Buddhism, an important point which requires to be remembered is that Buddhism itself might well have transcended the official boundaries of the state of the "Great Kushans." Moreover, the vast majority of the copper Kushan coins found in Khorezm have a countermark in the form of the tamga of the local Khorezmian rulers. This was done with the purpose of allowing to the Khorezmian market coin rings of foreign mintage from the neighbouring state.

6. If the term "Tokharistan," which had been widely used as far back as the early Middle Ages, is viewed in the historical-geographical, ethnographical and political context, as well as on the basis of a number of archaeological and topographical observations, one can venture a supposition that the northern boundaries of state of the 'Great Kushans' along the right bank of the Amu Darya reached as far as the Pamir region, the Hisar ridge and the Baisun mountains, with the Derbent pass in the latter ('The Iron Gate') regarded as the border of Tokharistan. The Kushans owned only the lower reaches of the Kashka Darya river valley.. From there the border turned south-west and then passed along the Amu Darya, including Amu (old Chardjou) and the lands of what is now the vast Kabaklin tugai, which bordered on Khorezm.

7. South of the outlined border all the archaeological finds of household utensils and monuments of art bear traces of the direct cultural impact of the state of the 'Great Kushans'. Besides, this area is noted for an extreme abundance of Kushan coins of all categories, whereas to the north of the above border such coins, as shown by many years of observation, are found very rarely and are represented by chance specimens. The latter circumstance is accounted for by the fact that the Soghdian regions which came under K'ang-kiu, a less centralized state of a special type, enjoyed an almost independent status and even after having been subjugated by K'ang-kiu persevered in coining money of their own local mintages. In this they stuck to the system based on silver which they had inherited from the Greeks, whereas the financial structure of the 'Great Kushan' Empire situated farther south had long before switched over to gold.

V. A. Meshkeris

CENTRAL ASIAN COROPLASTIC SCHOOLS OF THE KUSHAN PERIOD

1. The term 'school' is taken to mean the localisation of Central Asian art according to historico-cultural regions. This art is clearly expressed in the coroplastics of Soghd Khorezm, Margiana and Bactria-Tokharistan in the Kushan epoch. In spite of a certain general trend in the development of this art local features are expressed in a certain uniqueness of identical images, stylistic qualities, and sometimes even in the different content, connected with differing historical conditions and the nature of the cults.

2. A summary characteristic of each "school" gives the following picture :

a) The content of the art of Kushan Soghd seems to be linked with the local Mazdeist cults of Central Asia. The sources of the iconography of the basic types reach back to the distant prototypes of the West Asian terrain. The cult plastics are traditionally Eastern not only as regards content but also as regards form. A definite canon is adhered to in the frontal position, in the heavy proportions, in the tendency to a linearize plastic form. The maturity of the Soghd 'school' can be seen also from the great realistic mastership of the sculptural mouldings on handles of vessels relating to the end of the Kushan period. Analogues in the monumental dynastic sculpture of the Kushans in Parthian art, as also the absence of such analogues in Graeco-Buddhist plastics (except individual stylistic qualities) confirms the "Iranian" (in a broad sense of the word) nature of the Kushan coroplastics of Soghd.

b) Khorezm, which like Soghd is located deep inside Western Turkistan, was closely related (according to the results of research conducted by S. P. Tolstov and M. G. Vorobyova) with the preceding coroplastic centre of the similar cult figurative system, which asserted local traditions. The Khorezm 'school', like also the Soghd 'school', having passed through a phase mastering Western Asian influences, seems to have been just as traditional and stable as regards the preservation of local cult images, the limited scope of subjects and the norms of the canon. However iconographic types, the proportionality module, the nature of the plastic, and also the development of this art at the end of the Kushan period in Khorezm, differed from Soghd art.

c) Bactria-Tokharistan, as distinct from Soghd and Khorezm, was subjected to the influence of Buddhist, and to some extent of Hellenistic culture. Our views on the coroplastic region were formed on the basis of a number of discoveries by M. Masson, G. Pugachenkova, L. Albaum, B. Litvinsky, B. Stavisky and others. Despite the absence of summary research the conclusion can be drawn that Buddhist subjects predominate in Tokharistan coroplastics, that it contains many stylistic qualities borrowed from ·Kushan monumental sculpture, and that Hellenistic and Indian subjects penetrated into that art and took root in it. The types of terracotta, made in the traditions of local Tokharistan art (for example, figurines of a sitting Goddess) are objects of art possessing distinctive features.

d) Margiana, a component part of Parthia, (according to the research conducted by L. Rempel and G. Pugachenkova) seems to have been a centre of Western Asian Hellenism, which left a mark on the interpretation of the local traditional image of the female deity. Local unique types, illustrating the anti-Greek trend of the first centuries A. D. and the assertion of a style of their own, are semantically close to identical statuettes of Soghd and Khorezm but differ from them as regards iconography, proportions and stylistic features. The original thematics of some groups also determine the specific features of the Margiana coroplastic centre.

3. The map of the distribution of terracotta over the territory of Central Asia makes it possible graphically to illustrate on the one hand the common line of the development of Central Asian coroplastics, on the other, to determine local traits in each historico-cultural region.

4. The Kushans did not play the decisive role in the formation of local art in the remote areas of Central Asia (Khorezm and Soghd are outside the "Buddhist trend" of Kushan sculpture), the official Buddhist trend of the art of the Kushans exerted an influence only on the coroplastic of Tokharistan.

4. The above "schools" of coroplastics are of great importance to an investigation of the creative contributions made by the local peoples of the various regions of Western Turkistan to the development of the fine arts in the Kushan epoch.

K. Mukhitdinov

SAKSANOKHUR TERRACOTTA

1. Many of the special monographs and articles that have been written on the terracotta of Soghd, Merv and Khorezm, which are among the most interesting monuments of ancient Central Asian art, are widely known. A profusion of terracotta articles have been found on North Bactrian territory in recent years.

2. In 1966 excavations of the potters' block in Saksanokhur (the lower reaches of the Kizil-Su River, South Tajikistan) unearthed complexes of terracotta articles, consisting of a series of figures of men and women, and also of the moulds for their production, in addition to some images of animals. All these finds were linked with inhabited horizons, burning kilns and their dumps, and have been dated according to Graeco-Bactrian and Kushan coins.

3. Particularly numerous are female terracotta statuettes and the moulds for their manufacture, among which a dominant place is held by a goddess with a mirror. They were found in the lower (Graeco-Bactrian) and also upper (Kushan) horizons.

The finds from the lower horizon differ somewhat from those of the upper in stylistic respects. They have a common attribute—the mirror, but they differ as regards the richness of the clothing and production techniques.

As distinct from all other images of a goddess with a mirror found in Central Asia, the Saksanokhur images hold the mirror with both hands near the breast.

G. Pugachenkova noted that there is a connection between the image of this goddess and the iconography of Isida. However, in our opinion, these figurines have been related to a somewhat later date than they really should have been. Probably their appearance in North Bactrian coroplastics is connected with an earlier period (the second to the first century B. C.).

4. Another type of statuette depicting the goddess in a very rich folded dress, holding a cup-shaped vessel at the breast with her right hand, the left hand extending along the body holding an object resembling a basket.

The finding of statuettes of both types in identical archaeological layers indicates that both iconographic images were to be found simultaneously on this territory and depicted two different goddesses.

The male types are represented mainly by figurines on horseback, and of moulds for their manufacture. The terracotta figurines were stamped with dies and burnt in kilns that were used also for the production of pottery.

5. The new material found during the excavations of the Saksanokhur town-site is very important to a study of the fine art of pre-Kushan and Kushan times, and helps to understand the religious beliefs of the population of Northern Bactria during the indicated period.

I. M. Oransky

ON SOME AREAL PHENOMENA IN THE BORDERLAND BETWEEN THE INDO-ARYAN AND THE IRANIAN DIALECTS

1. The territory once occupied by the Kushan Empire has long been a region of intense linguistic contacts between the Indo-Aryan and the Iranian languages.

2. Besides the well-known facts of the genetic affinity between the sound systems, the vocabulary and the grammatical structures of the Indo-Aryan and Iranian languages there can be observed in the borderland between the two language groups a number of areal convergencies which do not directly follow from their genetic relationship.

3. Such phenomena can be observed in the sound systems, the vocabulary, the grammatical structures, and the word-formation of a number of "borderland" Iranian languages (Pushto, the Pamir languages, Balochi, the Tajik-Persian Dialects of Afghanistan and Southern Tajikistan), on the one hand, and in the systems of the Indo-Aryan languages of the central and NW part of the Indian sub-continent, on the other.

4. The present report deals with :

a) typologically and semantically identical patterns of verbal word-formation in some of the above-mentioned Indo-Aryan and Iranian languages (the so-called participial compound verbs of the *leke jana* type in Hindi and the *girifta raftan* type in Tajik) ;

b) some areal convergencies in the vocabulary.

5. The discovery on the territory of Soviet Central Asia of a fully bi-lingual ethnical group of Parya speaking one of the Indo-Aryan and one of the Tajik dialects enables us to trace the origin and development of considerable parallelism in their vocabulary, grammar, word-formation and usage.

A. Mukhtarov

NEW FINDS OF STONE CAPITALS OF THE KUSHAN TIMES IN SHAKHRINAU (SOUTHERN TAJIKISTAN)

In the summer of 1965 an expedition of the department of History of the Middle Ages of the Akhmad Donish Institute of History of the Tajik Academy of Sciences discovered two stone capitals in Gissar Valley, near the Dushanbe-Regar and Shahrinau-Karatag crossroads. Both capitals are of the Corinthian type but possess many original features. As regards the sculptural decoration, on the capitals, there is a great abundance of a feathered acanthus leaf, and the angular volutes are replaced by figures of winged griffons with lion paws, twisted sheep horns and a tensely extended chest, onto which a beard-like mane descends from the brute's face.

The acanthus decoration of the second capital is highly original. Each side is decorated with four large, exquisitely moulded acanthuses, which appear to grow from a single root. The two lateral leaves diverge horizontally, following the direction of the griffon's paws. The acanthus' leaves in the corners, under the griffon's paws, link with the leaves of the adjacent side.

Another specific feature of one of these capitals is that it is decorated with four human busts. They are placed between the griffons. It can be assumed that the two opposite semi-figures are male, the other two—female. The figures assumed to be female are decorated with a triple necklace with a broad square buckle. The male figurines are decorated only with a shoulder-belt descending from the left shoulder and rounding the right hip.

It should be noted that this is not the first time such finds were made in Tajikistan. Many monuments of local Hellenistic art have been found here. Many elements of Graceo-Bactrian and Kushan stone architecture—bases, capitals, etc., were found in Tajikistan.

However, a comparison of the two capitals with other elements of stone architecture found in Western Turkistan reveals that the capitals from the Shahrinau town-site are true masterpieces of Eastern Hellenistic art.

The new finds afford some indirect material that throws light on the question of the existence of stone columns in the ancient architecture of Western Turkistan, including also in Kushan architecture. It also reveals the interesting fact that this architecture used not only round, but also square columns, of the existence of which there was no information up to the present.

The new finds show that Tajikistan was a large centre of Hellenistic artistic culture, where works of great artistic value, showing much originality, were created.

N. N. Negmatov, E. D. Saltovskaya

MATERIAL CULTURE OF KUSHAN TIMES IN USTRUSHANA AND WEST FERGHANA

1. In recent decades Soviet scholers have given much attention to the archaeological study of the monuments of ancient Ustrushana and Western Ferghana, characterising also the material culture of Kushan times. In this respect the best results were obtained in the Munchak-tepe townsite and the adjacent necropolis (1943-1944), the Mugh-tepe town-site... the citadel of ancient Kurukad (1950, 1959-1960), two settlements Tudai Khurd and Tudai Kalon (1959-1967) and others.

Attempts were made to carry out a fractional classification of some building complexes and to trace the evolution of the basic ceramic forms. The Tudai Khurd (a castle and estate standing high on a stylobate of unbaked bricks) has gone through three basic construction stages, relating to the first centuries A. D. Also on Tudai Kalon were found the remains of a small fortified settlement with square towers at the corners and arrow-shaped loop-holes and several building complexes, the earliest of which refer approximately to the 3rd century A. D. The ceramic material includes turned thin-walled red pottery with traces of striped glazing—beautiful bowls and jugs of Ferghana style and also coarse, moulded, round-bottomed pots and basins with traces of a cloth pattern. Some vessels have stamped images of a griffon, horse and walking lions. Interesting fragments of bone plaques with images of the hovering goddesses of victory, Nike Victoria, holding a wreath, showing the strong influence of the artistic traditions of India on local art during the Kushan period. The finding in Munchak-tepe of bronze mirrors, pebbles with Chinese inscriptions and Chinese coins shows an Eastern influence. The find of Roman dinarei of the 1st-2nd centuries A. D. in the Ura-Tube district testifies to trade links with the ancient world. The material testifies to the development of jewellers' and metal-working production of Munchak-tepe, of weaving and the pottery trade there. Various crops (grain, market garden and garden cultures) were cultivated there and stock-breeding was developing.

3. Written sources and the archaeological finds in Ustrushana and Western Ferghana clearly indicate that there were two stages in the emergence and development of settlements and towns. The first stage was the Achaemenian times, when a series of towns and fortresses emerged (Kurukada, Ghaza, Baga, four nameless towns, Kukhi Urda, possibly Pre-Alexandria) ; the second was the Kushan period, when a large series of settlements emerged : Tudai Khurd, Tudai Kalon, the Samgar settlement, Munchak-tepe, the settlements in the Isfana-Say and Khodzha

Bakyrgan-Say basins, the early "fortresses on the cliffs" in the Isfara-Darya basin.

4. The fortresses in Achaemenian times may have been built for military-administrative reasons connected with the need to govern and defend the agricultural population in the boderlands of the Empire. Later they became industrial and commercial centres, when an intensive social differentiation of the population set in. The settlements of the Kushan era, however, were the result of a revival of the traditional agriculture and the handicrafts, that had been interrupted by the Graeco-Macedonian campaigns and the historical upheavals in the last centuries B.C.

5. The universal development in the first centuries A.D., revealed by archaeological materials, could have been possible only within a large state entity, one that could have protected Ustrushana and Western Ferghana from invasions, promoted economic and cultural development and the emergence and growth of new settlements. It is interesting to note that according to available data, there was at this time an intensification in the process of the formation of the nomad and semi-nomad people in the districts of the Karamazar and Lyalyak mountains. Only the Kushan Empire which, we believe, is likely to have incorporated Ustrushana and Western Ferghana, could have been such a state entity. The question of the Northern borders of the Kushan Empire has been repeatedly studied, most recently by B. Stavisky, whose assumptions we consider highly acceptable. To the materials published by him, we should add that a copper Kushan coin of Vima Kadphises was discovered in the burial site in the Asht district near Tudai Khurd and Tudai Kalon in 1967.

V. N. Pilipko

ARCHAEOLOGICAL MONUMENTS OF KUSHAN TIMES ON THE BANKS OF THE AMU-DARYA'S CENTRAL REACHES

1. A short historico-geographic characteristic of the area. The cultural development on the banks of the Amu-Darya's central reaches in the remote past. The discovery of monuments of Achaemenian times in the Kerkin district. The difficulties of studying the ancient monuments on the bank of the Amu-Darya—the wandering of the river bed, the intensive use of the territories fit for agriculture, high soil salinity and the nearness of subsurface water.

2. The banks of the Central Amu-Darya are a region in which the Yüeh-chih tribes settled after they had crushed the Graeco-Bactrian state. The Babashov burial site (Charshangian district) is a monument of early Kushan times, unique as regards burial rites and the objects unearthed. This burial site may be linked with the settlement in this territory of one of the Yüeh-chih tribes.

3. Archaeological monuments of Kushan times. The classification of the monuments according to their lay-out, sizes and administrative-economic functions. Rural settlements, fortresses, towns. The basic districts of the concentration of monuments. The high development of artificial irrigation.

4. The general and particular in the material culture of Central Amu-Darya in Kushan times. The unique geographical position and its influence on the economy and culture of the district. The finding of copper coins of Kushan issue —a fact confirming the assumption that the lands on the central reaches of the Amu-Darya, including the Chardjou oasis were part of the Kushan Empire. Ceramics. Coroplastics and some questions of the ideology of the ancient population of that district.

5. The banks of the central Amu-Darya are a single cultural and economic district with an original culture, exhibiting considerable similarity with the culture of Soghd and particularly of Northern Bactria.

G. A. Pugachenkova

KUSHAN ART IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT DISCOVERIES IN NORTHERN BACTRIA

1. The concept "Kushan artistic culture" is a conditional one—it pertains to art within the territorial and chronological framework of the Kushan Empire, however, neither the dynastic nor the ethnic traits (of the Kushans as the genetic name of one of the Central Asian tribes and the dynasties emerging from it) were decisive in its formation.

2. The investigation of a number of town-sites in Northern Bactria—Termez, Khalchayan, Airatam, Dalverzin-tepe, in Uzbekistan, Kobadiyan, Kouhna-kala, the Yavan town-site in Tajikistan—all exhibit traits of Bactrian town construction and fortifications. The study of ancient buildings buried in the layers of these and other towns-sites (the castle and the remnants of dwelling houses in Khalchayan, Kara-tepe and Zurmal in Termez, Buddhist structures in Airatam and in Dalverzin-tepe, the ruins of large buildings with stone architectural elements in Parkhar and Khatyn Rabat and others) revealed the basic methods of construction, the evolution of architectural compositions and forms, and the predominant features of architectural style.

3. Clay statues from the Khalchayan castle and gypsum statues from the Dalverzin sanctuary of great artistic value give an idea of the monumental statuary art of Northern Bactria, while the discovery of numerous terracotta figurines shows that people's trend in art was pronounced in local plastics. All these monuments together with those found in Northern Afghanistan (Ai-khanoum, Surkh-Kotal, Shahr-i-Banu and others) depict the main trend of the evolution of creative ideas and the methods of their artistic implementation in Bactrian-Kushan architecture and sculpture.

4. Bactrian monumental architecture formed on the basis of local traditions as regards its constructional, technical and planning—compositional principles. At the same time in the 3rd to 1st centuries B. C., there the influence of Hellenistic architecture gradually eclipsed, while in the 1st-3rd centuries A. D. there emerged (chiefly in Buddhist cult structures) the Gandhāra influence.

5. In Khalchayan sculpture the images are full of an internal tension, they express age and temperament, exhibit portrait and character, and embody a special ideal of beauty. The statues of the donors in the Dalverzin-tepe are also portraits, but in spite of the personal distinctions of their features, the faces are executed in a generalised manner, which conceals the nature and make-up of the soul—this is a

beginning of an idealisation of images, even though the face masks undoubtedly express individuality. In the Surkh-Kotal sculpture, the portrait profiles of Vima Kadphises and Huvishka on coins, and also in the gallery of the Kushan rulers from the dynastic sanctuary in Mathurā, idealisation and typisation of the royal image had already become a predominant feature, embodying the abstract idea of the triumph of the transcedental principle over the real, the mundane.

6. A comparison of the architectural and art monuments of various regions of the Kushan Empire leads to the conclusion that there were several major artistic centres in the Empire, and local "schools" developed in Bactria, Kabulistan, Nagarahar, the Swat Valley, Gandhāra, Mathurn. At the same time the common trends show that there was a Kushan culture which was a complex but monolythic phenomenon in the art of the ancient world in its specific Central Asian variant.

7. In its late manifestations Kushan art already contains an embryo of the phenomena, which in the regions to which this art spread, were assimilated and developed by early medieval art, reflecting the new system of social ideas by a consecutive change of the artistic images and forms.

A. N. Zelinsky and Y. G. Rychkov

ON THE QUESTION OF THE ETHNIC ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE KUSHANS

1. The question of the ethnic anthropology of the Kushans was first raised at the end of the 19th century in the works of Ch. de Ujfalvy. Recently the methods of anthropological analysis have improved and have enlarged our knowledge on the ethnic anthropology of the countries on the foot of the Pamir and Hindukush, countries linked with the Kushan ethnic medium. Yet, in spite of that the anthropological type of the Yüeh-chih is still unclear because conclusive material is far from sufficient. It is even more difficult to speak of the ethnic anthropology of the Kushans, because there is practically no craniological material relating to the golden age of the Kushan period.

This made us turn to the important testimony on the ethnic type of the Kushans provided by coins minted by them. We analysed also some materials published on the Khalchayan excavations and also a series of coins of the heirs of the Kushans—the Ephtalite rulers. However, this material is insufficient for an analysis that would furnish reliable conclusions. Therefore, studies are based on the modern knowledge of the ethnic anthropology of Asia and especially of the Pamirs and the areas on the foot of the Pamirs, where the authors conducted special research work.

2. Of the few indications that can be analysed on coins, two have diagnostic value as regards the anthropology of the region of interest to us ; this is the

ratio of the upper and lower parts of the face and the profile of the nose. The predominance of the upper part of the face over the lower is typical of the people of Western Asia and Transcaucasia—i.e. southern Europeoids. The reverse ratio is characteristic for the population of the countries lying to the North, that is, of the northern Europeoids. On the Pamirs and on the foot of the Pamirs the ancient and deep isolation has preserved the anthropological type, which is neutral both as regards the southern and the northern Europeoids racial branches. The Pamir type combines the northern proportions of the face and frequently (40 to 50 per cent) is characterised by a prominent nose, i.e., features typical of the population of Western Asia.

3. An analysis of the data according to the groups—early Kushans (Kushans of the Heraios tribe), the Kushans, the Ephtalites, the mountain dwellers of the Western Pamirs—leads to the following conclusions :

a) the type of the early Kushans can be regarded as the more "north-Europeoids" and was apparently closer to the Yüeh-chih type,

b) the type of the Ephtalites is closest to the mountain people of the Pamirs,

c) there is a change of type from the early Kushans to the Kushans and Ephtalites,

d) between the two extreme types (the early Kushans and the Ephtalites) there is no sharp division. They are both variants of a single East-Iranian anthropological stratum, the last fragments of which have been preserved in the Pamirs and Northern Caucasus, and which can with certainty be distinguished from most ethnic types of Indostan and Western Asia, with the exception of the Iranian Plateau.

4. Thus, we can draw the following conclusions. About 130 B. C. the Yüeh-chih or the pre-Kushans brought from Central Asia to the region of Bactria and Badakhshan an anthropological type, related to a wide range of North-Europeoid forms known from Europe to the Sayano-Altai. Apparently, the local ethnic and anthropological medium was not alien to the newcomers, but in the type of the Kushan proper we find a gradual intensification of the influence of Pamir elements. The autochtonic ethnic medium which had its centre in the districts of Badakhshan—the home country of the Ephtalites (Enoki, Gumilyov) at first incorporated the Yüeh-chih, transforming them at the turn of our era into the Kushans. When the last Kushans in circa 400 A. D. almost fully dissolved in the multi-tribal conglomerate of the peoples they had conquered, the local medium brought the Ephtalites to the foreground, who ruled over the territory of Bactria and the adjacent countries up to their military rout in 567, when they stopped to exist as an independent people and survived only in the inaccessible mountain valleys on the foot of the Pamirs.

E. V. Saiko

SOME PROBLEMS OF CERAMICS TECHNOLOGY OF THE KUSHAN PERIOD (NORTHERN BACTRIA)

1. Studies of ceramics and its classification ; its role in exploring the complicated problems of the history of the Kushans. The common features and local variants in the ceramics of the regions coming under the Kushan Empire. The technology and processes involved in the production of vessels : selection and processing of raw materials, moulding, engobing, decoration of the surface, annealing, which form the principal characteristic features of the ceramics of this or that period. Investigation of the production methods and technical characteristics of the Northern-Bactrian ceramics of the Kushan and earlier periods. The close and legitimate connection between the shapes, clay mass compositions and vessel moulding techniques as a corner-stone for ceramics classification into periods.

2. Moulding techniques in making ceramic wares and the necessary tools. Studies in various ceramic complexes dated the II century B. C.-IV century A. D. from Northern Bactria, the difference in moulding techniques and in the working abilities of various tools co-existent in time. Investigation of the material with the use of X-rays and microscopic analysis of ceramic masses ; microscopic studies of the traces of moulding on fragments ; variations in length, rate and smoothness of motion of the moulding tools in making this or that kind of ceramics. The diversity of techniques involved in making vessels (the peculiarity of taking off, of undercutting, etc.) noted for the ceramic complexes of one and the same site (Kobadian, Saksanokhur). Secondary processing on the wheel of a range of wares (the material of Kobadian and Yavan).

3. The technique of engobing aimed at improving the decorative and technical quality of the vessel ; its ancient tradition and complicated history. Ceramics of the Graeco-Bactrian period : the line of development of various types of high-quality ferrous engobes of red and red-brown colours and hues (burnished engobes : engobes-"lacquers", engobes-"glazes", engobes of reducing fire). Multiple versions of transition of the composition of these engobes from ferrous clay masses of the system $Fe_2 0_3 — Al_2 0_3 — Si0_2$ to $Na_2 0 — Fe_2 0_3 — Al_2 0_3 — Si0_2$. Diagrams of the fourth system. The line of development of engobes within the systems indicated in the Kushan period.

4. The technical quality of red engobes. The material of the Northern-Bactrian complex.

5. Articles with a light engobe. Technological processes involved in the making of light engobed ceramics.

6. Investigations of the glazed ceramics found on the territories of the regions coming under the Kushan Empire ; the Near-Eastern traditions in the production of Northern-Bactrian glazes.

chronological groups. The first group relates to the time of the collapse of the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom and the formation of the Kushan Kingdom (the end of the 2nd century B.C.—1st century A.D.), the second group to the period of the golden age and decline of the Kushan Kingdom (the 2nd-4th centuries A.D.).

Typical of the Kushan epoch tombs in the Bukhara Oasis are mounds of average height, under which there are primitive, "podboi" and catacomb burials. The form and orientation of the catacombs of each chronological group differs, as also the method of fencing of the "podboi" from the dromos.

In the tombs of the 2nd century B. C.—1st century A. D., the catacombs extend from N to S and are continuations of the dromos, the entrances to the catacomb, and also of the "podbois" were closed with reed and pieces of gypsum. In the tombs of the 2nd—4th centuries A. D., the entrance to the catacombs and the "podbois" were closed with raw brick. In the kurgans of the first group burials were solitary and the skeletons lay extended, sometimes in a crouched position, the head pointing S. In the tombs of the second group the skeletons lay in an extended position in "podbois" with the head pointing N., all skeletons in the catacombs were pointing E. The catacombs of the second group often used for repeated burials, and their use extended over considerable periods of time, some contained as many as 11 skeletons (Kyzyltepe burial site).

Typical of the burials of the first group is the presence of weapons in the tombs, in the tombs of the second group there are almost none, only iron arrow heads are found here and there (Khazarin burial site).

The following weapons of the 2nd century B. C.-1st century A. D. were found in the tombs : 20 iron two-edged swords without a guard, but with a short straight cross-hilt. The iron daggers have different guards and cross-hilts The iron three-bladed hefted arrow heads of small and large size have down-turned stings.

In the first group are all sorts of iron, bone and bronze buckles, beads, bronze mirrors and gold articles were found. Ceramic articles are of various forms and sizes, from small cups to large jugs. A large number of mugs and cups were found.

The objects found in the second group consist mainly of ceramics and ornaments (in female tombs). The shapes of the vessels differ, predominant are small pots without handles, among the wooden articles—there were small basins, plates and a three-legged table.

The anthropological material of both groups is identical. The skulls found in the tombs are dolichocranial, brachicranial and mesocranial. On some skulls in the burial sites deformations are observed which are identical with the deformations found in the ossuary burials of the 5th—6th centuries in the Kuyumazar burial site. Typical of the society that left these burial sites were strong matriarchal vestiges.

The burial rites and objects found in the kurgans of the first group resemble the walls and curved in the vault and niches of the staircase arches—were preserved. Many small fragments of architectural and sculptural elements were found, predominantly acanthuses, volutes and parts of human figures, and also large smooth lining slabs, stone bases, and a bloc ornamentaed with acanthuses and volutes.

4. Excavated was also part of a mound, located 1.5 km to the E, which contained a building used for dwelling and andministrative purposes. It functioned in the period when the Airtam outpost was on the eclipse and intensive settling in other parts of the Airtam settlement was underway.

5. Buddhist stupa and the building adjacent to it were unearthed between the two main objects. Next to it was a very big and ancient rectangular ceramic kiln. The firebox and its opening are preserved. Near it was a similar klin where the brick used for the Airtam buildings was burnt.

6. The excauations of the Airtam burial site some two kilometres from the ancient settlement furnished interesting material on the burial ritual in Uzzekistan's southern districts. Basically two types of burials were widespread here : first, rectangular graves in hard ground or sand, second—podboi graves. All ten burial sites excavated contain various objects including beautiful cubes on short feet, jugs, Mustahars-travelling flasks, having bodies convex on two sides, a woman's ring, a double-edged iron dagger, etc.

The burial site was dated according to the central layer of Airtam as relating to the 2nd-1st century B.C., may be to the beginning of the 1st century A.D.; typologically it is closely related to the Tulkhar burial site in Southern Tajikistan.

7. The results of the excavations on the settlement and burial site of Airtam provide diverse materials, characterising a large settlement, containing interesting ancient architeture, monumental sculpture and providing information on the burial rites characteristic of right-bank Bactria.

O. V. Obelchenko

KURGAN BURIAL SITES OF THE KUSHAN EPOCH IN THE BUKHARA OASIS

The Kuyumazar and Lyavandak burial sites were discovered in 1952-53, while the Kyzyltepe, Shahrivairon and Kharzarin burial sites were investigated in 1960-62. In 1966 a small number of kurgans was excavated in the Lyavandak and Khazarin burial sites. All these burial sites are in eastern part of the Bukhara oasis, beyond the walls of the Kampyrduval oasis, which divides the cultivated lands from the desert. The ancient wall of Kampyrduval was raised in the first centuries A. D. The large burials of the Kushan epoch are divided into two major

Western Turkistan in general) with ancient India, provide new information for a study of the nature of the cultural links between Kushan Bactria and the entire Kushan Empire with Roman Mediterranean.

7. An analysis of the material on the destruction of Buddhist sanctuaries revealed by the Kara-tepe excavations, especially in complex B, and the central Persian (Sassanian) inscriptions on the walls of the cave temple of this complex seem to indicate that Sassanian troops penetrated deeply into Kushan Bactria at the end of the seventies of the 3rd (or 4th) centuries A. D.

8. Further excavations at Kara-tepe and the study of the Kara-tepe inscriptions by Soviet (T. Grek, V. Lifshitz, V. Lukonin *et al*) and foreign (Y. Harmatta *et al*) researchers will help to enrich our science with new data on the history and culture of Kushan Bactria and the Kushan Empire as a whole.

B. A. Turgunov

THE AIRTAM TOWN-SITE

1. Airtam, situated 18 km to the E of Termez was unearthed in 1932—initial studies were conducted in 1933 and 1937 by M. Masson's expeditions. A quarter of a century later the expedition of the Khamza History of Arts Institute of the Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences renewed work there. This work was conducted by the author under the guidance of Professor G. Pugachenkova.

2. Three years' work (1964-66) on the town-site and the adjacent territory solved the basic questions of the history of this large settlement's formation.

3. Excavations of the mound, where certain stone friezes depicting busts of musicians and of people wearing garlands were found, showed that the building embraces different historical periods, that they served different purposes and that corresponding changes were made in the arrangements of the building. Twelve premises of the early period were excavated, the walls of the building were made of high-quality pakhsa and rest on hard ground. Archaeological materials relate the building to the 2nd century B.C. It was a fortified outpost in the Graeco-Bactrian possessions, situated near the ancient crossing over the Amu-Darya and carrying out defence functions.

In the beginning of our era a Buddhist cult complex including a sanctuary stupa and auxiliary premises was raised on the ruins of the fortress. The lay-out of the upper buildings does not repeat the lay-out of the old buildings, and only some parts of the walls, a well-preserved semi-cellar of burnt brick—square in

B. J. Stavisky

KARA-TEPE AND QUESTIONS OF THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF KUSHAN BACTRIA

1. Kara-tepe was a major Buddhist cult centre of Termez in Kushan types. It attracted the attention of Soviet archaeologists already at the end of the twenties. In 1934-36 it was studied by G. Parfenov, B. Piotrovsky and A. Strelkov. In 1937, E. Pchelina began preliminary excavations. They were renewed in 1961 and are now conducted yearly by a joint expedition from the Hermitage, the Museum of the Art of the Eastern Peoples and the Institute of the Asian Peoples of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

2. Perennial research on the Southern horseshoe-shaped summit of Kara-tepe established that some 20-25 groups of buildings were situated there, and excavation work has involved eight of these groups. Complexes A and B, which include cave yards, the yards adjacent to them and above-ground structures were studied most thoroughly. The excavations threw light on the arrangement and lay-out of the cave sanctuaries, the passages surrounding them and the cells of the monks, and also on the specific features of the temple yards with the columnar porticoes aivans and a small surface temple.

3. The excavations at Kara-tepe revealed remnants of wall paintings, fragments of a large gypsum sculpture and stone (marl-limestone) reliefs, stone elements of architectural decor, stone and ceramic articles, clay earthenware, terracotta, bronze coins of the Kushan kings, Indian and Bactrian donated inscriptions on ceramics and visitors' (in the Bactrian, Indian and Middle Persian languages) inscriptions (graffiti) on the walls of one of the cave temples (in complex B).

4. The materials of the evcavations in Kara-tepe threw new light on many questions connected with the history and culture of Kushan Bactria. They substantiated the information contained in Buddhist legends about the spread of Buddhism to the North of the Hindukush under the Kushans and made it possible to evaluate the contribution of the Bactrian adepts of Buddhism to the development of that religious teaching and to its further spread to Western Turkistan and Central Asia.

5. The excavations in Kara-Tepe disclosed monuments of writing, culture and art, an analysiso f which enables us to understand the spread of the unity of both (the northern-right-bank and southern-left-bank) parts of Bactria under the Kushans and of a number of specific features in the Bactrian artistic school of the Kushan period, which distinguish it from the Gandhāra school.

6. The materials found at Kara-tepe enable us to make a more concrete study of the history and of the nature of the cultural links of Kushan Bactria (and

greatly and are sometimes identical with the tombs of the Sarmats in the Volga region and on the approaches to the Urals. In the tombs of the 2nd-4th century A. D. these Sarmat features are on the wane, while the objects and the burial rites resemble those typical of the contemporary culture of Western Turkistan.

The tombs of the first group relate to the 2nd century B. C.-1st century A. D. They were dated by the resemblance of the objects found in them with objects of that period unearthed in the Volga region and on the approaches to the Urals. The dating is substantiated also by the find of a Heliocles' coin (end of the 2nd century B. C.) in the Kyzyltepe burial site.

The excavations of the tombs in the Bukhara oasis give grounds to assert that Scythian-Sarmat tribes, who roamed the vasts between the Altai and Ural and between the lower reaches of the Volga and the Syr-Darya River, participated in the crushing of Graeco-Bactria and the formation of the Kushan Kingdom.

S. S. Chernikov

SOME REGULARITIES OF THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF EARLY NOMADS (ACCORDING TO ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIALS FROM THE WESTERN ALTAI)

1. A characteristic feature of the development of the West Turkistan peoples is the constant close vicinity of and intercourse between nomads and agriculturists. From the 7th century A.D. the steppe nomads, owing to the specific features of their economy, drove southwards and established military and peaceful contacts with the agricultural population of the fertile oases, transferring their camps to the rich pastures at the foot of the Western Turkistan mountain ranges.

The military might of these tribes, backed by the powerful nomad rear in the Kazakh steppes, was great, and played a decisive role in many historical events (the struggle with the Achaemenian power, the formation of the Parthian and Kushan Empires).

2. Recent research has shown ever more convincingly that major socio-economic changes were at work among the nomads of Eurasia's steppe belt in the 3rd century B. C. The first primitive state entities emerged (the Hun-Scythian Kingdom in the Crimea), new weapons evolved, "Scythian art" declined and degraded, and the rich kurgans of the nomad nobility disappeared. A period of relative stability set in the nomad world. It is thought that these changes were based on the emergence of early class relations among the nomads.

3. The archaeological monuments of Western Altai, unearthed in recent years, give a clear and convincing picture of these changes. They may be divided into two chronological stages. The first (7th-4th century B. C.) is characterised by large rich kurgans (Chiliktin Valley, Mayermir, Berel and others), the predominance of bronze implements and weapons (daggers, knives, arrow-heads, angling rods, psalias of a characteristic form), in art—magnificent examples of animal style. There is a clear distinction of two ethnographic groups—the southern, linked with the Saka tribal union, and the northern, into which enter also the kurgans of the Pazyryk groups. These are probably arimasps of ancient authors. Both maintained some links with the Western Asian civilisations and more definite ones with the neighbouring steppe.

4. The monuments of the second stage (3rd century B. C.-first centuries A. D.) are quite different. Rich kurgans alternate with a great number of low round mounds. Few objects are found in the graves. There is a universal transition to iron. This transition set in at a late date here, because on the upper reaches of the Irtysh River there was one of the largest ancient bronze production centres, which had a major effect on the entire material culture of that area. By the 3rd century A. D. this centre (where not only copper and tin was mined, but also gold) apparently stopped to exist.

The excavations of the second stage kurgans show that there presented a unique archaeological culture, wich exhibits definite specific traits and which, according to the place where the first diggings were made, may conditionally be called the Kulazhurgin culture. This culture has its closest analogue in the Wu-sun monuments of Semirechye. Some genetic links with preceding periods can be traced. It can be assumed that the kurgans of the Kulazhurgin culture were left by the Yüeh-chih tribes, which is known from the campaign of the Hun Shah-yui Chi Chi to the West.

5. In the second chronological stage, which can be traced also in other regions of the steppes, the nomads were far enough developed in socio-economic respects not only to set up nomad empires of short duration, but also more or less stable empires—the Parthian and the Kushan—in sedentary countries. But in doing this they stopped being nomads, as was the case with the parnas under Arshak and the Yüeh-chih under Khadphises.

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